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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

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USSR REPORT
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No 2, Apr-May-Jun 1986

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
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Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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SOCIOLOGICAL SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC INTENSIFICATION

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[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Vilen Nikolayevich Ivanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Author of a number of works on the theory of scientific communism and sociology, including "Leninskiye Idei o Nauchnom Upravlenii Sotsialisticheskim Obshchestvom" [Lenin's Ideas on the Scientific Management of Socialist Society] (1970); "Aktualnyye Problemy Sotsiologicheskikh Issledovaniy na Sovremennom Etape" [Topical Problems of Sociological Research at the Present Stage] (1984); and "Internatsionalnaya Gordost Narodov Sotsialisticheskogo Sodruzhestva" [International Pride of the Peoples of the Socialist Community] (1985, coauthored). Permanent contributor to this journal]

[Text] The expanded concept of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country, which was approved by the 27th CPSU Congress, presumes, above all, the comprehensive intensification of production of the basis of scientific and technical progress, the structural reorganization of the economy and efficient forms of management, organization and stimulation of labor. Furthermore, the course of acceleration calls for changes in all areas of social life. "It contemplates the exercise of an active social policy and the systematic assertion of the principle of social justice. The strategy of acceleration presumes the advancement of social relations, the renovation of means and methods of work by political and ideological institutions, the intensification of socialist democracy and the decisive elimination of inertia, stagnation and conservatism, of anything which restrains social progress" (1).

The comprehensive tasks of acceleration and its interrelated aspects -- political, economic, scientific and technical, social, cultural-spiritual and psychological -- require a further profound and comprehensive study. In this case the science of sociology must make its weighty contribution. The experience acquired in recent years in the study of social relation, various social communities (classes, groups, collectives, etc.), the way of life and the laws and trends governing their development, prove that today sociology can solve both complex theoretical as well as applied problems and formulate efficient practical recommendations.

The attention of sociologists must be concentrated above all on the study of the entire set of conditions and factors which determine human behavior in production and changes occurring in the social status and aspect of various groups of working people, and their interests, value orientations and social spirit. "The supertask of this scientific study involves ways of shaping the initiative-minded and responsible attitude toward labor and specific means and methods for the full and efficient utilization of social reserves for economic intensification. A good foundation has already been laid for fruitful work in this area. Intensive studies are being made of the way of life, the social aspects of the large-scale economic experiment, general and vocational training, collective forms of labor organization and incentive, etc. Many grave problems were identified and studied. Thus, according to data of the all-union sociological study of the way of life, 37 percent of respondents do not always work with total dedication; 27 percent noted cases of personal nonfulfillment of planned assignments; 21 percent are insufficiently interested in doing better work. Only one third of respondents answered that they could see a close link between the intensiveness and quality of their work and their earnings. Now it is a question of defining, on the basis of a profound theoretical interpretation of the situation and within the framework of the tasks formulated by the party, the preferential areas in which the influence of social management is to be applied.

One of the problems which must be solved during the 12th 5-year period is to reduce by a factor of 3-4 the time needed for the development and mastery of the new equipment and see to it that all newly developed models are superior to similar goods currently manufactured, by no less than 50 to 100 percent, in terms of productivity and reliability. This will require a drastic increase in returns on engineering labor. As we know, we have trained a large army of engineers over 5 million strong. However, shortcomings in their labor organization and wages significantly lowered the efficiency of their activities. The prestige of the profession is declining and many engineers are taking jobs unrelated to their training. Sociological studies show that the share of such individuals exceed 40 percent of VUZ graduates and accounts for three quarters of technical school graduates (2).

No less urgent is the question of the quality of engineering training. In recent years the level of knowledge and skill of young specialists has been declining. Furthermore, many of them find jobs in ministries, departments and offices. The harm from this is double: on the one hand, the engineer, who deals essentially with paper work, forgets his skills; on the other, the organization acquires a specialist without practical experience (according to studies, such individuals account for more than one half of the engineering and technical personnel of some ministries and institutes) (3). The correlation between specialists with higher and secondary skills is far from optimal: in 1980 there were 210 technicians per 100 engineers; in 1983 there were 197 (correspondingly, there were, respectively, 282 and 275 secondary personnel per 100 physicians)(4).

The quickest way of increasing production efficiency is the readiness of individuals to increase their labor activeness. Thus, according to E. V. Provorova (a survey of 2229 workers in 14 enterprises of four different sectors), 49.8 percent of the respondents could substantially increase their

individual output given specific organizational-technical and material conditions. One half of them could improve it by 4 percent and one tenth by 50 percent (5). What can be done regarding the ability independently to analyze a production situation and see its bottlenecks and find ways through which a more efficient organization of the work may be converted into real results? Providing an answer to this question is the professional duty of the sociologist.

The above information offers no more than a most general concept of the social factors of production intensification and requires a special study of each specific case. However, we must admit that the scale and quality of the work on assessing reserves and determining ways of their implementation are still lagging behind practical requirements. This applies to all management levels (enterprise, sector, region). Studies aimed at identifying reserves are still sporadic. No proper contacts have been established between academic (VUZ) specialists and plant sociologists. Developments are poorly coordinated and lack standardized methodical tools. In particular this has adversely affected the information support of management. Yet, as a result of the intensified social orientation of the economy, the need for social statistics is becoming increasingly tangible. The increased significance of the latter in upgrading the scientific standards of planning and management was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Unquestionable and significant successes were achieved in the past 5 years in one of the main ways of upgrading the practical potential of sociology. This applies to the social development services at enterprises, associations, and sectors. At the present time, such subdivisions have been set up in more than 30 union ministries, employing about 5,000 specialists. Naturally, such services substantially differ organizationally and in terms of their tasks and professional standards. We can confidently say, however, that a successful way has been found for combining social sciences (sociology, psychology, pedagogy and some others) with production. Such interaction is achieved above all through the influence of the human factor at work and away from the job. The creation of such a service has made it possible to combine the efforts of scientists in the humanities with the activities of medical workers and specialists in social hygiene, to broaden the area of practical utilization of the achievements in social studies, make scientific developments more specific and concentrate on the real requirements, needs and interests of the people.

Practical experience proves that social development services may become an efficient link in the production management mechanism. The latter must be considered in both economic and social terms. Unfortunately, in practice said aspects are frequently unrelated. Today, however, it is becoming increasingly clear that the optimal functioning of the management system greatly depends on the strength of the "social component." The following elements may be singled out within the structure of the economic mechanism: planning, evaluating results of activities, financing, crediting, price setting, wages and labor incentives (6). Each one of them has its social aspect, for the use of said levers is aimed above all at coordinating the interests of society, the collective and the individual and presumes a consideration of the orientation and motivations of the participants in production processes and the assessment of the efficiency of each element from the viewpoint of the principles and

objectives of socialism. Furthermore, social measures are relatively autonomous within the economic management mechanism. This autonomy is based on the specific nature of the social feature (in the narrow meaning of the term), and the importance of the independent role which the social program plays in the policy pursued by the party and the state. Autonomy is manifested not in the lack of direct relations but in the fact that the respective measures are focused on "long-term results," on future developments (occasionally aimed at the very distant future).

The party's task of "actually subordinating our entire production system to social needs and to the satisfaction of the needs of the people" (1) requires paying the closest possible attention to social aspects of management. In order to upgrade its efficiency one must know the real interests and needs of the people and the ways of their possible reorientation and channeling along the proper way. The solution of said problems presumes the further elaboration of a number of theoretical-methodological problems, such as the nature of the social factor and its interaction with economic factors; and social factors and mechanisms of acceleration of the country's economic development. These topics are of major importance also in the all-union sociological study which will be made during the 12th 5-Year Plan on "The Social Sphere: Development Indicators and Trends." Let us recall that specialists from several scientific centers will be involved in the implementation of this project.

Sociology must methodically "complete the rearming" of sociological development services. It is a question, above all, of developing reliable tools for assessing the condition of the social reform on the different levels of its organization and in accordance with its sectorial and regional specifics. The increased attention in this area of sociological work is determined not only by the fact that it is a leading trend related to strengthening unity between theory and practice. So far these problems were the weakest link, one could say the lagging sector, in science, for several reasons: insufficient development of applied problems, low level of professional training of many plant sociologists and occasional lacks of contact with local party, soviet and economic managers. Meanwhile, many of the latter are still displaying a scornful attitude toward the recommendations of sociologists (this reveals, above all, the low level of sociological standards and thinking). So far no clear standardized legal foundation has been laid for relations between customers and workers in the field.

The problems we enumerated must be resolved above all on the basis of the summation and application of frontranking experience. Here we have something to work with. Significant successes have been achieved in recent years by the sociological services of many enterprises in Dnepropetrovsk, the Perm Telephone Equipment Plant, the AvtoZIL, Svetlana, Kirovskiy Zavod, KamAZ, AvtoVAZ, Kurganprihor and Elektron (Lvov) production associations, the clothing association in Tiraspol and others. Thus, over the 5-year period the Dnepropetrovsk Machine Building Plant imeni Lenin completed about 50 projects on topics relevant to the enterprise. They dealt with the number of preschool institutions which will be needed by the enterprise in the immediate future, could a shop be converted to two-shift work, where should new production facilities be located, how to organize the work of the urban transportation

system, plant cafeterias and enterprise service facilities. Precise and substantiated answers were provided for these and other problems, which made it possible to earmark specific and efficient steps. It was largely thanks to the painstaking work done by sociologists and psychologists at the Feodosiya Optical Machines Plant that cadre turnover at the enterprise was reduced from 23 to 8 percent and savings of about 400,000 rubles were achieved. Many similar examples could be cited.

Social planning is one of the efficient tools in social development services. It is precisely within it that a significant percentage of practical recommendations are implemented. Experience indicates that social planning yields tangible results if corresponding steps are taken not once in a while (once every quarter, semester, etc.) but as a permanent element in the life of the collective. Such type of organization must mandatorily be based on the "social model" of the enterprise (association, sector) developed for a 5-year or longer period. Combined with systematic control over the level of implementation of the model, this will make it possible to implement a specific social strategy, take promptly into consideration changes in the conditions and tasks of the collective's production activities and prepare in good time the necessary social support for reconstruction and scientific and technical retooling. In this connection, the practice of mass target training of cadres in the application of major innovations deserves comprehensive support.

Work on cadre retraining is closely related to certification and improving the efficiency of work places and the elimination of hard and unskilled manual labor. Corresponding measures in this area yield significant economic and social results. Let us cite the experience of enterprises in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. During the first stage alone more than 7,500 workers and about 8,000 pieces of equipment were released, as a result of which, compared with the beginning of the 11th 5-Year Plan, scarcity of labor resources declined by a factor of five. Work is now underway to certify technological processes, brigades, sections and shops (7). The sociologists must study carefully and comprehensively the specific social problems which are developing here and, on this basis, issue to designers, technologists and administrators tasks on improving production amenities and totally eliminating factors which adversely affect human health. The sociologists also play an important role in formulating a comprehensive criterion of equipment efficiency which, in addition to technical and economic, would include social and psychological parameters. In this case, guided by the best worldwide achievements, in designing new equipment it is necessary to proceed, above all, from the socioeconomic requirements which are consistent with the conditions and purposes of the development of socialist society. In this case changes in the content of labor are of prime significance. The results of sociological studies confirm that this parameter is playing an increasing role in the structure of the orientational values of the various groups of workers (young in particular). The problem becomes further aggravated by the fact that automation has not a uniform influence of the content of labor. Any adverse influence must be compensated by measures of a social (or socioeconomic) nature. This is an extensive area of sociological work.

The solution of a major problem, such as upgrading the innovative mobility of labor collectives, depends on the content of labor and its intellectual saturation. However, in order to achieve truly tangible results in this area, organizational and technical steps must be closely related to a material incentive system, the purpose of which is to support and develop the interest of the workers in technical innovations and the efficient organization of labor and optimization of labor conditions. Extensive opportunities are provided in this sense by the collective forms of incentive. What is their advantage? First of all, under the conditions of production automation the collective nature of labor is manifested in the end product less and less directly. Corresponding evaluation methods should be adopted. Second, the increased autonomy and responsibility of enterprises presumes the intensification of the role of collectivistic principles, transferring a number of management functions directly to brigades and shops, etc.

Therefore, the technical-economic and social aspects of contemporary production can and must work in unison. This, however, requires all-round scientific-methodical and organizational support.

The sociologists must also be steadily concerned with problems of moral and social incentive. The plans for social development must include more steps which would spread and encourage any valuable initiative and contribute to upgrading the social prestige of initiatives related to the application and efficient utilization of new equipment. The social development services must formulate scientific recommendations on the allocation of social benefits based on funds earned by the collectives. Particular attention should be paid to treatment and prophylactic programs, the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism and the assertion of a healthy way of life. The allocation and expenditure of funds for cultural and consumer needs and on measures to improve working, living and resting conditions and the development of physical culture and sports should not be based exclusively on objective indicators but on public opinion as well and on the moral importance of labor results. Sociological methods are mandatory in this case. They are called upon to play an important role in implementing the principles of social justice and in developing socialist self-government.

The conversion to new economic management conditions, the intensified economic autonomy of enterprises and granting them broader rights in resolving production problems are inconceivable without a developed proprietary feeling in every worker. "We must," the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, "increase the interest of the working people in the better utilization and multiplication of the people's wealth" (1). The steps formulated by sociologists, economists and workers in the other social sciences in promoting the human factor must take more fully into consideration the fact that the social nature of the working person under socialism has two inseparably linked sides: he is both a worker and an owner, the co-owner of means of production. So far, the necessary attention has not been paid to the second aspect on the theoretical and practical levels. Yet the development of this problem will greatly determine the efficiency of the economic reorganization.

The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period until the Year 2000 call for intensifying the

influence of social measures on developing production. This work must be organized on a planned basis and on the basis of progressive experience and results of scientific research. The study of the return on social measures must become an inseparable part of the work of sociologist, above all those who work in the social development services. The prime task of the specialist is to seek social reserves for economic intensification and to develop its characterizing indicators. Today from speaking of the need for intensification we must convert to action. The time has come to translate the solution of this problem into the language of real practice, the language of daily work.

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PRODUCTION RELATIONS IN THE AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86 (signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 15-25

[Article by Vladimir Ivanovich Staroverov, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Author of the books "Gorod ili Derevnya" [Town or Country] (1982); "Sotsialno-Demograficheskiye Problemy Derevni" [Sociodemographic Problems of the Countryside] (1975); "Sotsialnaya Struktura Selskogo Naseleniya" [Social Structure of the Rural Population] (1978); "Sotsialnyy Portret Selskoy Chuvashii" [Social Portrait of Rural Chuvashiya] (1985) and others. He is a permanent contributor to this journal]

[Text] The further strengthening of the agroindustrial complex and upgrading its efficiency are considered in the party's programmatic documents as mandatory prerequisites for the country's socioeconomic progress (2). This calls, first of all, for perfecting the production forces of the complex and, secondly, production relations within it. This article shall consider primarily the latter aspect and tasks which arise in this area in the light of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The agroindustrial complex is only a result of socialist agroindustrial integration developed as a relatively autonomous integral national economic subsystem. Publications define such integration as economic in some cases or organizational-economic in others; it can also be defined as a production-technological process (for a detailed analysis of the definitions see 3, pp 18-21). In our view, these viewpoints, which accurately describe the various essential aspects of the process, do not take sufficiently into consideration its multifaceted nature and the fact that agroindustrial integration covers not only production-technological and economic relations between agriculture and industry but social relations as well, for this marks a change not only in means of production but also in the the people themselves, who are the main production force. Correspondingly, the conditions governing their shaping and reproduction (material and social) change as well. Taking this into consideration, we define agroindustrial integration as a comprehensive historically defined method of combining industry with agriculture on the basis of the principles of production-technological unity, socialist cost accounting and the social commonality of the basic interests of all working

people involved in this process, motivating them to engage in collective actions for the sake of attaining end results.

It is only by taking into consideration the interconnection among production-technological, economic and social aspects of integration that its sociological study is possible. Its first aspect is the starting point of the socioeconomic, sociopolitical, sociopsychological and other studies of this process and the institutionalized form of its results -- the agroindustrial complex. What interests the sociologist the most is the role of integration in the social reproduction of the overall APK worker. This takes place within the framework of a historically determined production and consumption method, on the basis of a specific and correspondingly developed material-object complex. It is precisely the social reproduction process that reflects above all changes in production forces and production relations in the APK. Hence the important role of the latter's social aspect. To begin with, it is only if we take the social aspects into consideration that we can earmark adequately the boundaries of the complex, its structural elements and connections and the laws governing its functioning and development. Secondly, they enable us to define the specific nature of socialist integration and the difference between it and the externally similar yet entirely opposite social and political content of capitalist agrobusiness.

Most publications single out three areas within the APK: material and technical resources for the production of agricultural commodities; farming; and delivering agricultural production to the consumer. In reality, however, the APK also includes units which ensure expanded reproduction of the human factor and, above all, elements of the social infrastructure. Furthermore, the production-technological organization of the complex is organically linked with its social organization which actually ensures the social nature of this subsystem of the socialist national economy.

Agroindustrial production appears at a point of development of agriculture and related industry at which their separate functioning hinders the efficient utilization of the production potential of both areas. In our country the APK structure took several decades to develop. Today it consists of dozens of sectors and thousands of enterprises and organizations, including those which provide housing-communal and cultural services to the working people in the complex, participate in their professional training, etc. This also includes scientific-production, design-engineering and construction organizations, and others. In itself, the combination of such heterogeneous components presumes the existence of complex intersectorial ties and production relations among the structural elements of the overall worker. Therefore, the functions of ensuring integral relations among agrarian sectors and other units within the APK is becoming an increasingly organic part of the work performed by its different detachments. The essence of said function is to coordinate the ratios and rates of development of the production-technological, economic and social organization of the complex, and to optimize the structural changes in production forces and production relations and, on this basis, to ensure expanded socialist reproduction.

Under the influence of agroindustrial integration, the number of workers and their share engaged in farming has been systematically declining among APK

workers (see table 1). However, this process does not develop identically in crop growing and animal husbandry, which is a reflection of the different times at which integration relations with industry appeared: they began to be established earlier in stationary animal husbandry. Also noteworthy is the following circumstance: the total number of people employed in the APK is not declining but increasing. This is largely the result of the extensive nature of its development.

As a whole, the agroprom successes are significant and obvious. Had farm labor productivity remained on the level of the mid-1960s, considering the current size of the public sector, the production of agricultural commodities would have necessitated more than 40 million working people instead of 22.9 million, as is currently the case. The current average annual savings in wages exceed 29 billion rubles, whereas direct capital investments in agriculture total 35 billion rubles (4, p 22).

Table 1

Dynamics of Development of the USSR Agroindustrial Complex				
Indicator	1970	1975	1980	1984
Total employed (million people)	43,9	44,2	44,4	45,4
Including:				
-in public farming	24,1	23,5	22,9	22,9
-in farming, including private auxiliary farms	29,0	28,0	27,0	27,0
-in other areas of the complex	14,9	16,2	17,4	18,4
Share of agricultural workers among the working people in the complex, %	54.9	53.2	51.6	50.4
Including those employed in private auxiliary plots	66,1	62,9	60,8	59,5
Volume of output, billion rubles	253,1	310,0	347,2	395,2
Basic production assets, billion rubles	162,9	256,7	366,0	476,0
Capital returns, rubles	1,6	1,2	0,96	0,83
Volume of output per worker, rubles	5,765	7,013	7,820	8,705
Output, %				
-agriculture *	100	113	123	129
-industrial sectors	100	135	152	176
Including:				
-providing productive capital	100	163	209	257
-processing agricultural raw materials	100	130	143	163

* Correlated with the average annual volume of output by 5-year period.

During the last three 5-year periods APK output has increased by a factor of more than 1.5 (see table 1). At the same time, the reduction of capital returns by one half and the increased number of workers in the complex, which we pointed out, indicate that its development as an integral and relatively autonomous national economic system has still not been completed and that its production-technological, economic and social organization has by no means become optimal as yet.

The disparate development of the individual units within the APK are confirmed by other statistical data as well. Substantial disparities in terms of availability of power and capital assets and level of specialization and concentration of production and productivity exist among the basic areas and sectors within the complex. Thus, the capital-labor ratio in sectors supplying agriculture with productive capital is higher by a factor of almost 1.5 compared to construction. At the same time, it is one-half the level of the capital-labor ratio in the procurement area. In turn, this indicator exceeds the respective indicators in trade and public catering by a factor of more than 6.3. The share of strictly manual labor accounts for 68.0 percent in crop growing, 60.1 percent in animal husbandry and 11.8 percent in transportation. These and other differences cause the imbalance among the main APK units, manifested in the different degree of their efficiency (see table 1).

The strategy of acceleration presumes, above all, the advancement of social relations (2). Today the question of distribution relations between agriculture and the remaining parts of the complex and within it is particularly crucial. Eliminating disparities in the relationship between the socialist ownership and means of production and contradictions between "mine" and "ours" on the level of the individual's involvement in the activities of the primary labor collective are of substantial importance. It is in this respect that we shall consider problems related to APK development.

As we know, most of the agricultural output goes less into final consumption than into various economic sectors. The amount going to these sectors is close to 100 percent, and farm output is distributed among them by a factor of 2.5-3 more than directly into final consumption. At the same time, agriculture itself is a large consumer: it consumes the output of more than 50 different sectors and receives industrial services worth tens of billions of rubles. However, because of imperfect economic relations, agriculture suffers major losses both as consumer and as supplier.

A number of industrial and construction areas, which have the right to set temporary prices for new types of commodities raise their prices not in proportion to improvements of their useful effect. As a result, within a single decade the cost per horsepower of a tractor (with a set of agricultural implements) has increased by a factor of 1.8: the cost per one cow stall has tripled and the price per unit of mixed industrially produced feed has more than doubled (5, p 57). Therefore, the substantial funds allocated to sovkhoses and sought by kolkhozes for strengthening their material and technical base are absorbed by the various departments without this benefiting agriculture. This in itself lowers the economic effect of capital investments in agriculture and society fails to obtain expected returns, although on the surface the results of the economic management of capital generating sectors appears satisfactory. Nor does agriculture enjoy better conditions as supplier. This is confirmed by the first most fully developed intersectorial national economic balance of the last decade. The use of this method in the analysis of intersectorial relations in the APK indicated that a significant portion of the added product in agriculture goes into the light and food industries through a system of purchase prices. Is this not the reason why enterprises processing agricultural commodities, which accounted

for no more than 8.1 percent of the average number of APK workers and 11.9 percent of its basic production assets, accounted for 33.6 percent of its overall volume of output in 1984? According to intersectorial balance data, the overall amount of the added product which "migrates" from agriculture to the processing area (through the turnover tax and the prices at which these sectors sell their commodities) totaled approximately 26 billion rubles annually (5, pp 8-9). A certain percentage of this amount should have remained in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses in order to strengthen their socioeconomic situation. It is "returned" by reducing the amount of debts owed by agriculture to the state. From the viewpoint of the material and moral incentive of output, the effect of this has been lesser than had the same amount been considered a profit earned by kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

The perfecting of economic relations among the different APK units, initiated in accordance with the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, contributes to the elimination of said shortcomings. Higher purchase prices of agricultural commodities and price markups favorably affected the results of kolkhoz and sovkhos economic activities. Whereas in 1982 their net income totaled 1.3 billion rubles and their level of profitability was under 2 percent, in 1983 net income reached slightly under 24 billion rubles and profitability almost 22 percent; in 1984, which was a season affected by the bad weather, the respective figures were 20 billion rubles and 18 percent. However, loopholes for departmentalism within the APK have by no means been blocked. In order to bring proper order in this area, as the new draft of the CPSU program emphasizes, upgrading the efficiency of planning is of particular importance. This will ensure the priority of national interests and will firmly block any manifestations of departmentalism, parochialism, bureaucratism and voluntarism.

Optimizing the interaction among the different forms of socialist ownership plays an important role in perfecting the APK. As the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress notes, socialist ownership has a rich content. It includes a comprehensive system of relations among people, collectives, sectors and regions in the utilization of the means and results of production activities and an entire range of economic interests. This complex set of relations requires a specific combination and constant regulation, the more so because of its dynamic nature. Failure theoretically to interpret such changes makes it impossible to find accurate practical solutions and, consequently, promptly to develop steps which will lead to the adoption of a truly proprietary attitude towards socialist property.

Under contemporary conditions, kolkhoz-cooperative ownership has become identical to state ownership and assumed a systematically socialist nature. However, it has its own sometimes quite serious and difficult to solve problems of organization of production, distribution and utilization of labor results, the elimination of which is necessary in order to ensure the further development of kolkhoz economic independence.

Let us compare, for example, the way funds are formed and distribution relations among kolkhozes and sovkhoses structured. In the latter the entire output is the property of the state. It is marketed on a planned basis and in accordance with set prices. Correspondingly, a firmly stipulated part of

earnings is used to meet the payroll (in 1965 it amounted to 30 percent of profits; today it has reached 40 percent); another share goes to the state budget and is used to enhance the economy of less developed sovkhoses, which includes worker wages. This step is particularly important, for it equalizes farming conditions, differences among which are determined by circumstances independent of the working people. In the kolkhoz sector the output is the property of the collective of the specific farm. Part of it is sold on a planned basis and at set prices; another part is used by the farm itself and yet another is sold at retail prices. The compensation, consumption and accumulation funds are formed on the scale of the individual kolkhoz. Yet the objective conditions under which they farm are by no means identical. This leads to the appearance of significant income disparities (see table 2). In turn, this leads to a differentiation between farms in their asset availability and power-labor ratios and other means of accumulation, independent of labor efforts, and, consequently, disparities in wages and availability of nonproduction assets, cultural and consumer in particular. Some kolkhozes have absolutely everything; others, with poorer land, located far from good highways and centers for production and nonproduction services, sometimes lack even prime necessities although the kolkhoz members work as intensively as the others.

Table 2

Some Results of Kolkhoz Economic Activities

Indicators	1970	1975	1980	1984
Kolkhoz breakdown based on gross income per 100 hectares of farm land, %				
-under 5,000 rubles	3.5	6.2	14.4	5.7
-5,000 - 10,000	10.6	12.3	16.0	6.0
-10,000 - 15,000	15.0	12.4	12.5	8.3
-15,000 - 20,000	15.4	11.9	11.3	9.3
-20,000 - 30,000	23.8	19.4	15.3	16.0
-30,000 - 40,000	12.4	12.2	8.4	12.4
-more than 40,000 rubles	19.3	25.6	22.1	42.3
Remaining, billion rubles				
-short term kolkhoz loans at end of year	2.5	10.1	25.7	34.6
-long term kolkhoz loans at end of year	10.3	17.8	34.0	45.5
-long term sovkhos loans and loans to other state agricultural enterprises	0.5	5.1	8.4	9.7
Gross kolkhoz income, billion rubles	22.8	22.3	19.6	35.6
Correlation between short term loans and gross kolkhoz income, %	11	45	131	97

Briefly, what characterizes the kolkhozes is a far greater disparity in wages compared to sovkhoses. Thus, in 1982 wages per man/day in 23 kolkhozes in the Russian Federation were under 2 rubles; in 69 kolkhozes they ranged between 2 and 3 rubles; in 350, between 3 and 4 rubles; in 453 farms they ranged between 8 and 10 rubles; and in 51 kolkhozes they exceeded 10 rubles (6, p 10). Meanwhile, the labor activeness of the workers was not all that different as earning disparities might indicate. In many kolkhozes, where labor was not

paid quite highly, the number of people who showed up for work exceeded the same indicator in farms with good earnings. Something else is noteworthy as well: in some underprofitable kolkhozes wages are better than in more profitable one. This is the result of lesser withholdings for the accumulations fund (construction, purchase of machinery, etc.). By thus consuming their added product, such farms build, purchase equipment and develop their sociocultural life primarily on credit. And since frequently they have no funds with which to repay their loans, such farms turn into dependents of the state. The Krasnoye Znamya Kolkhoz, Alnashskiy Rayon, Udmurt ASSR, is a typical example. Its indebtedness rises by 400,000 to 600,000 rubles annually and its total debt exceeds 8 million rubles. Nevertheless, in terms of wages it is one of the best farms in the rayon. This paradox is possible only because of the imperfection of distribution relations. Indebtedness is a typical feature above all of kolkhozes, for a large number of them rely not on their own efforts but on the potential of the state (see table 2). Compared with 1969, in 1984 outstanding short term loans, a substantial percentage of which are used for wages, were higher by a factor of almost 50, and of long term loans by a factor of 19. A life-style based on loans and wages paid regardless of the results of farming undermines material incentive.

Naturally, the task of perfecting ownership relations does not apply to kolkhozes alone. It quite urgently faces sovkhoses and other APK units.

In this connection, intensifying the links between basic forms of ownership through the creation of interfarm enterprises and agroindustrial associations and the systematic application of cost accounting are particularly important. This would enable us to convert from direct to economic regulation of kolkhoz-cooperative production activities. In principle, the state form of socialist ownership has been supported by the kolkhozes from the very first days of collectivization. Like the other co-owners they use the land, water, ground resources and timber, which are national property. A high share of state nonproduction capital plays a primary role in the reproduction of manpower: nurseries, kindergartens, schools, polyclinics, secondary schools, VUZs, etc. Today kolkhoz ownership cannot exist without the application of the achievements of science, technology and other means which are granted by the state with some stipulations and, most frequently, free of charge. Even an approximate estimate of state outlays for environmental protection measures, raising the growing generation, providing general and vocational training, and so on, would indicate that the share of national funds and resources used in kolkhoz production activities has increased by nearly 25 percent in the last 20 years. All in all, including written-off loans, this share, used for the accumulation of production and nonproduction assets, accounts for about one half of fixed kolkhoz capital.

However, this exceptional role which national funds play in the functioning of kolkhoz (and other forms) of ownership is not always suitably reflected in the mechanism of distribution relations, in which sometimes national interests are not given priority. One of the main trends in perfecting production relations not only in the kolkhoz sector but also in other subsystems of the complex is strengthening economic relations among all its units, including the systematic application of the principle of payments for the utilized assets and

resources. This is one of the stipulations included in the new draft of the CPSU program, according to which we must continue to develop and upgrade the efficiency of cost accounting, systematically convert enterprises and associations to total cost accounting, and regulate their activities through economic long term levers, which offer scope for display of initiative by labor collectives.

The use of total cost accounting is closely related to the development of the collective contracting system. Unfortunately, although it is 25 years old, this movement is still not sufficiently widespread (see table 3). By 1984 no more than 23 percent of sovkhoz workers and kolkhoz members had converted to the brigade contracting method, including 25.6 percent in crop growing and 16.9 percent in animal husbandry. Furthermore, a significant percentage of such collectives operate for a couple of years, and then break down, replaced by others. This hinders the development of traditions and positive experience in collective contracting in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The reasons for this situation are numerous. They include a formalistic approach to the selection of cadres, the insufficient development of material and technical facilities, the multisectorial nature of activities of many collectives and the need to shift from one project to another. The main problem is the weakness of the cost accounting system. As a rule, the contracting collectives are given only the sum total of their earnings and bonuses; the need for resources is estimated by eye, regardless of the expected output. Meanwhile, outlays of gasoline, chemical fertilizers and other materials needed at a high yielding field will naturally be higher than in a low-yielding one and the raising of hundreds of high-yielding cows requires more fodder than of underproductive animals. Wherever resources are not planned on the basis of standards oriented toward the output -- standards which are lacking in most kolkhozes and sovkhozes -- the brigades continually face shortages of facilities needed for normal work. Such a situation appears most frequently wherever cost accounting is applied only to the personnel of individual links but not to the farm as a whole. Farm managers and heads of major subunits are unwilling to apply the contracting method. Nevertheless, when the earnings of all managers, including the director, were made dependent on end results at the Morskoy Sovkhoz, in the suburbs of Novosibirsk, the progress made by the farm was unexpected. On its own initiative, the sovkhoz reviewed the structure of its crops. Land planted in potatoes was reduced by 17 percent yet the gross potatoe output nevertheless increased by no less than one third. Potatoe quality improved. This is no isolated example. Our surveys have indicated that the majority of the most skilled farming workers suggest that the earnings of all agroprom working people, including specialists and managers of rayon and oblast agroindustrial associations, be made dependent on the quantity and quality of output and production outlays, i.e., that wages be restructured on the basis of consistent cost accounting principles.

The same type of approach is required in interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. Their scale today have become considerable: there are more than 10,100 interfarm enterprises and hundreds of agroindustrial organizations of the kolkhoz-plant and sovkhoz-plant type; some 1,500 agroindustrial and scientific-production associations exist, etc. The impact of such organizations on the economic-production and social activeness of APK

is increasing with every passing year; they also exert a great influence on the utilization of the means of production and ownership relations.

Usually, interfarm enterprises are considered in literature above all as a source of greater profits which could be used in strengthening the economy of shareholding farms (four fifths of which are kolkhozes). Today, however, this is the least important aspect in the development of cooperation. For a number of reasons, which call for a separate study, the income of the shareholders derived from interfarm enterprises is insignificant. Thus, based on 1982 results, shareholding kolkhozes received only 2.1 percent of the profit of poultry enterprises in the RSFSR; they received 5.3 percent of the profit of organizations servicing agricultural production and 10.1 percent from agricultural enterprises. They received not even a single ruble from the income of incubator stations. Essentially, the profits were used to strengthen the interfarm enterprises and to increase their fixed capital.

Table 3

Dynamics of Development of the Collective Contract in Agriculture, thousands

Indicator	Total		Work under collective contract conditions		Number of people employed	
	1982	1984	1982	1984	1982	1984
Number of brigades and links	624.4	701.6	57.6	296.1	1156.7	4350.8
Including:						
-brigades	460.4	449.7	35.0	143.7	959.0	3384.3
-links	164.0	251.9	22.6	152.4	197.7	966.5
-in crop growing	335.0	194.6	39.4	144.7	941.7	3390.3
-in animal husbandry	289.4	407.0	18.2	151.4	215.4	960.5

The main area of influence exerted by interfarm cooperation is related to the fact that it allows kolkhozes and sovkhoses to be rid of unprofitable small-scale production, to develop specialization and upgrade the efficiency of several basic kolkhoz-sovkhoz production sectors. Cooperation has a strong impact on the nature of ownership as well. In interfarm enterprises kolkhoz ownership becomes interwoven with that of the state and reaches a higher level of socialization. This is not an automatic combination of various forms of ownership but marks the appearance of a qualitatively new formation, distinct from kolkhoz and state ownership, characterized by a specific utilization of means of production and specific production relations. Such cooperation is not an alternative to the basic forms of socialist ownership, but expands and develops the latter: it enriches kolkhoz ownership by adding to it the features of a higher level of socialization, whereas state ownership is enriched through elements of consistent cost accounting. This helps to eliminate departmental economic separation within the framework of state ownership and of group separation within kolkhoz-cooperative ownership.

The agroindustrial associations which are described in the new draft of the CPSU program, alongside kolkhozes and sovkhoses, as the type of economic nuclei which are the foundations of socialist farming exert an even deeper

transforming influence on ownership relations. It is a question, above all, of agroindustrial associations as a result of the creation of which the participating enterprises lose their financial-economic autonomy. Such associations have become the main production element of the APK in Bulgaria. They are rapidly developing in our country as well. Frequently publications relate the disappearance of the peasantry as a class with their establishment. Such publication allege that the peasantry will be absorbed within the "classless" APK working person immediately, the moment such associations are formed. In our view, said viewpoint on the social results of the establishment of agroindustrial associations is methodologically erroneous. It provides a superficial and simplistic characterization of the complex task of building a classless society. Naturally, said process substantially narrows the economic foundations for peasant autonomy without, however, leading to the disappearance of the peasantry. Peasant features will be manifested in APK people for decades and, possibly, generations.

In order to ensure the real elimination of disparities related to form of ownership, it takes more than a single juridical or administrative act. V.I. Lenin, who emphasized that most relations concerning means of production have been codified in the laws, also assumed, in all likelihood, the existence of relations which are not juridically codified (1). This is due above all to the fact that they have not yet achieved the qualitative definition needed for such laws. Actually, the opposite is also possible, in which a recent phenomenon is given a legal and organizational shape in order that it may acquire a new systemic quality faster. A characteristic example of this is that of the reorganization of kolkhozes into sovkhoses in the 1960s-1970s. To this day some authors keep proving that such sovkhoses are hardly different from kolkhozes. Actually, such is not the case. There has been a change in the conditions governing the utilization of means of production, distribution and consumption methods, and many others. Nonetheless, we must not ignore the fact that the level of maturity reached by the property of the whole people in sovkhoses created in this manner is substantially lower than in the old sovkhoses; in terms of preparations for, nature and content of labor, attitude toward it and basic features of activity, the working people in such farms resemble more closely the peasantry and the kolkhoz detachment of the intelligentsia than cadre workers and ITR.

A similar situation prevails in the case of agroindustrial associations. Their creations does not mean a drastic change in ownership relations and the conversion of the latter into entirely all-national in nature. For many more years they will display kolkhoz-cooperative relations in the development of production forces, the nature and content of labor and the mentality of the people. Gradually, yielding to ownership by the whole people, they will begin to convert into relations of "associated producers," which will be definitively established in a classless society.

Today there are still few associations of this type. The utilization of the potential of the strengthening of the production-economic unity of the RAPO is a more urgent task. Currently there are 3,109 such RAPO in the country, but they include some 100,000 enterprises and organizations, including 50,500 agricultural, 7,900 industrial, 19,500 servicing and 7,400 construction ones.

RAPO development trends are such that in the course of time they must inevitably become the basic autonomous production-economic nuclei of the APK.

Studies we conducted in Bashkiriya (1984) and Gorkiy Oblast (1985) confirmed that such associations are still in their development stage. Their conversion into efficiently operating economic systems is held back by the fact that production, economic and legal relations within the APK on the oblast, republic and national levels have not been established in accordance with the new conditions. This is the result of the haste with which the RAPO were created: many specialists turned out unprepared for a psychological restructuring and their work to this day is dominated by the stereotypes of economic behavior which was shaped 20 years ago. It is no accident that only 2.3 percent of experts believe that their RAPO have been able to take into consideration the interests of the partners; 6.3 percent believe that thanks to the RAPO the partners have begun to direct their activities toward end results of agricultural production; 10.3 percent emphasized the creation of unified centralized RAPO funds. However, not one expert was able firmly to guarantee that the association had been able to make purposeful use of such assets to enhance lagging farms; 40.9 percent believe that nothing has been accomplished in this area and 35.5 percent were hard put to give an accurate answer.

Nevertheless, the study proved that the RAPO beneficially influenced the development of production-economic cooperation and intensified the economic and social interrelationships among partners. The strengthening of intersectorial relations within the RAPO is accompanied by an increasingly comprehensive interweaving of the kolkhoz-cooperative and state forms of ownership. Whereas in interfarm enterprises the new relations are of a marginal, of an intermediary nature (among the basic forms of socialist ownership), the further improvement of the RAPO affects the entire set of ownership relations, leading to the growth of consistent socialist systemic qualities within them. As this process develops, the kolkhoz peasantry will not simply come closer to the working class but will blend with it, as a result of which a new, a socially unified type of APK working people will emerge, people engaged primarily in physical labor. A similar transformation will take place in the kolkhoz detachment of the intelligentsia and the remaining APK units.

To sum it up, let us note the following: production forces and production relations in the Soviet agroindustrial complex have all systemic qualities of socialism. Nevertheless, disproportions remain in the development of APK structural elements, departmentalism and parochialism, and a high percentage of unskilled and physically hard manual labor; the socialist principles of distribution are not used consistently. These and similar shortcomings hinder the increased efficiency of APK and the shaping of new-type workers. The steps earmarked in party and government documents (7) aimed at improving APK activities are called upon to optimize its production-economic and social organization and to upgrade and labor productivity.

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ORGANIZATION OF SCIENCE AS MEANS OF SCIENTIFIC LABOR INTENSIFICATION

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[Text] Considering scientific and technical progress as the most important factor in the conversion of the entire national economy to intensive development, the party calls for the intensification of science itself (3).

In a previous article (5) we argued that the intensification of science was needed not because of the exhaustion of resources which society can allocate for such development but because the old type of functioning of science no longer meets contemporary requirements, something which cannot be compensated with additional investments.

Still, according to some scientists, regardless of its condition, science is always a booster of progress in its interrelationship with the production process (6). In our view, this conflicts with the practice of making production the "technological application of science" (1). For if the latter is considered not as an external force but a leading element within the single "science-production" system, the requirement of technologically "renewing" itself, even at the same rate as the leading element, becomes mandatory.

Intensive development of production means, above all, a conversion to qualitatively new technologies. Yet we know of a number of cases in which scientific collectives, which have been slow to convert to new levels of knowledge, not only stop being a factor of production intensification but even hinder its development.¹

This is particularly dangerous with a departmental structure of management, in which sectorial scientific institutions are organizationally related to management and substantially influence technical policy.

This was pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress: "steps are being taken to enhance the work of sectorial scientific research institutes and to increase their contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. However, this process is taking place with inadmissible slowness. Many institutes continue to function as extensions of the ministry. They frequently assume the role of advocates of departmental interests and have sunk into routine and paper shuffling."

One of the main trends in the intensification of science is that of perfecting its organization. Scientific activities have an inner logic and an objective specific structure. A certain disparity always exists between the internal structure of scientific activities and the organizational structure imposed upon science (the network of various institutions), for the latter has greater inertia and is subject to the influence of factors external to science.

If the implementation of scientific activities has no proper organizational structure, a greatly varied scientific system as though in compensation for such shortcoming, shifts the implementation of functions to existing elements, although this involves additional costs. In some cases, however, the structural disparity becomes so great that the system cannot compensate. In such cases the drop of overall efficiency far exceeds the cost of creating the lacking structural element.

It is in this connection that the sociology of science assumes tremendous applied significance. It is precisely within the framework of this discipline that the "anatomy" of scientific activities is manifested and the concept of the set of interrelated functions needed for productive work and the healthy development of research collectives takes shape. In the majority of cases, however, the sociology of science is considered only an instrument for improving conditions for scientific activities within the framework of the existing types of scientific institutions. In other words, the external organizational structure of science is considered as a given, as a restriction to which the internal structures of its functions must invariably adapt. Although entirely explainable, this approach must be refined. It would be useful to approach the problem from another side as well: we must abandon present concepts of scientific activities and consider the organizational structure as a variable, mentally adding to it the lacking elements needed for a more harmonious consistency between functional structures.

It is our profound conviction that the complexity of functions which constitute modern scientific activities must be consistent with a variety of organizational forms. A simplification of the structure of the scientific network, reducing it to a small set of types of scientific institutions (in which scientific research institutes would predominate), and the trend toward a uniform internal structure of subdivisions within a given establishment may be convenient from the viewpoint of administrative management but reduces scientific flexibility. Thus, a large organization with clearly defined functions and status is suitable for work involving a small risk and a certain consistency; however, it is poorly adapted to the formulation and initial testing of new ideas.

At the present stage of differentiation and integration of scientific knowledge, Marx's view on the universal nature of scientific work must become the foundation for "structuring" the network of scientific institutions (2). We do not always realize the entire significance of this basic concept in terms of scientific management agencies. Communication is the most important component of science as a social system and ensuring the unhindered exchange of information among all units within the "science-production" cycle is a prerequisite for success.

In the light of this stipulation, let us consider some structural elements the existence of which within the system of organization of science becomes increasingly necessary from the sociological viewpoint. To achieve this, we must abandon the customary division of science into stages (basic and applied research, development) or type of jurisdiction (academic, sectorial and VUZ). Let us abandon the concepts developed in the study of science concerning the functions on the basis of which the efficiency of scientific work is determined.

Nucleus of Basic Research in a Sectorial Scientific Institution. Addressing the conference of the party and economic aktiv in Tselinograd on 7 September 1985, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Today the problems of scientific support of agriculture require the extensive participation of scientists working in various areas of knowledge.... The profound integration of basic science with scientific institutions of the agroindustrial complex is a major reserve for enhancing the level of agrarian science and the efficiency of its influence on agricultural production" (4). This thought applies to all other sectors. The quality of applied research is determined today essentially by the efficiency of its ties to basic science.

The creation of efficient channels to past and modern science means the creation of a necessary (although insufficient) prerequisite for the existence of a scientific institution. Unfortunately, occasionally we see the way in which an entire institute, while preserving all external attributes of a scientific institution, gradually loses its ties with science and stops being of a scientific research nature, turning into a "deadened" part of the country's scientific potential.²

This connection can be easily established with the help of "communication intermediaries:" collectives of scientists engaged in basic research directly within a sectorial organization. It is only researchers maintaining permanent and personal contacts with sectorial workers who can be suitably aware of the nature of applied problems and translate them into the language of basic science (which is necessary, for example, in establishing relations with the Academy of Sciences). It is only researchers who themselves generate basic knowledge, that can truly participate in the information system of basic science and assess the information developed at its cutting edge, from the viewpoint of its importance to applied problems, "translate" such information into the language of such problems and submit it to the personnel of a sectorial scientific research institute. This means that scientific collectives of a double nature are needed. They are a quantitatively insignificant but exceptionally important element of the scientific potential of a sectorial organization. A scientific research institute in which a basic

research cell has been eliminated becomes acutely aware of the role of this missing element.

Unless such research is conducted within a scientific research institute, the weakness of contacts with basic science does not appear immediately but in the course of the practical utilization of research and development results. PRAVDA criticized the work of the Scientific Research Potato Growing Institute, the leading institute in this important subsector (11). The potato strains developed by the institute were worse than those long familiar to potato growers. The development of a new strain in a plant cultivated for hundreds of years is possible only on the basis of scientific research which combines achievements in plant physiology, phytopathology, virology, genetics and many other disciplines. However, a study of the annual array of publications by NIIKKh associates, proves that they failed to use these disciplines and had lost touch not only with global but with domestic basic science. Their articles contained no references to basic biological journals, referring as a rule to TRUDY NIIKKh. This proves that the NIIKKh collective does not use the information provided by contemporary science in solving their problems. Actually, the collective had dropped out of world science, and it is precisely for that reason that it proved unable to meet practical requirements (12).

The importance of this problem was pointed out by Yu. A. Ovchinnikov, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, who emphasized the need to combine sectorial research with contemporary achievements in biotechnology: "It would be suitable to use the facilities of existing scientific research institutes and VUZs or to find other efficient solutions. However, this can be achieved only by qualitatively restructuring our agrarian science in terms of organization, ideas and method and making it consistent with the requirements of advanced biology" (13, pp 27-28).

This problem is quite relevant. For a number of reasons both the USSR Academy of Sciences and sectorial scientific research institutes developed different "organizational systems" and in the course of time it was as though two detachments of scientists, which have difficulty in communicating with each other, were established. Now, when applied research is becoming, in terms of theory and methods, increasingly "basic," this situation lowers the efficiency of sectorial science. The belief has developed in sectorial scientific research institutes (with the exception of those assigned highest priority) that basic research is a for the Academy of Sciences. This idea of the functions of basic research as part of the scientific potential system, supported by organizational steps (such as the system used in assessing the work of scientists) has led to a reduction in the already small number of basic science units within sectorial scientific research institutes.

For the sake of comparison let us point out that in the United States the idea was realized and accepted a long time ago that the main function of basic research in industry is that of communicating (as repeatedly emphasized by a major scientific administrator such as H. Brooks (14)). Also important is the fact that industrial cadres in the United States are trained in basic research before receiving their doctoral degree, which can be awarded only by a university. The percentage of doctors among specialists in applied research

in the United States is almost the same as in basic research. Sectorial science in the USSR "reproduces" itself to a considerable extent in terms of cadres, for in it a large number of candidates of sciences earned their degree for dissertations completed within sectorial institutes or VUZs, working on strictly applied problems.

Applied Research Nucleus in the Academy of Sciences. It is frequently said that the USSR Academy of Sciences is the golden stock of Soviet science. Its use, strengthening and preservation are matters of governmental importance. The situation which has developed now is one according to which the procedure for "extracting" funds from this asset to meet urgent needs has become simplified, while their replenishment has been weakened. The drastic acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the world has led to the fact that a considerable share of our sectorial scientific research institutes has proved incapable of coping with contemporary problems. Today the USSR Academy of Sciences is being assigned increasingly urgent applied tasks. In a number of cases a real danger has appeared of eroding the scientific potential of the Academy as a center of basic science.³

It is also obvious that the Academy of Sciences, with its unique scientific possibilities, must participate in solving important basic applied problems. However, in order for this not to undermine basic research, both the structure of academic institutions and their relations with sectorial scientific research institutes must be changed. Currently in the majority of cases the Academy of Sciences undertakes to solve sectorial problems alone. This does not diminish the urgency of the problem, for there are more major tasks than there are forces within the Academy. An organizational mechanism is needed, which would involve sectorial scientific research institutes in the work under the guidance of academic collectives, and would upgrade such work to the level of contemporary requirements. Furthermore, this would enable us to avoid the isolation of the sector in its initial development stages. Such isolation generates concealed opposition during the application stage. We know that the head sectorial scientific research institutes frequently "knock down" Academy projects.

Many examples may be cited of successful cooperation between the Academy of Sciences and sectorial organizations, in the course of which efficient division of labor is achieved. In our view, such cooperation must be developed in another direction as well, by creating temporary collectives consisting of associates of sectorial scientific research institutes working on specific target programs within the Academy of Sciences. Such collectives, which use the personnel and the facilities of academic laboratories, can quickly solve applied problems and, at the same time, turn into efficient scientific unit. Although "separated" from the Academy, they would retain their contacts with it and would contribute to enhancing the standards of the sectorial scientific research. In some sectorial sciences such collective join forces with personnel from the Academy of Sciences, interested in important practical assignments. In the same way that a virus makes a cell apply its own program by introducing its genes within it, the Academy of Sciences would introduce in sectorial scientific research institutes its own "genetic programs" upgrading them to the level of contemporary problems without trying to solve all of them alone. Academician

Yu.A. Ovchinnikov writes: "Drastically upgrading the level of practical developments, above all in the new areas of biology and biotechnology, in the numerous agricultural and medical centers dealing with biological problems, is an urgent task. Such 'escalation' must take place rapidly, with the participation of the leading institute in the country, by assimilating the best foreign experience, meanwhile radically restructuring work projects, approaches and trends" (13, p 27). In order for the temporary collectives engaged in solving applied problems to become viable structural elements in the organization of academic science, the USSR Academy of Sciences should develop some reserve work areas and equipment financed by the interested ministries and not the individual scientific research institutes. The Academy of Sciences can offer the knowledge and experience of its scientists without neglecting its functions, but not its material facilities. Let us also point out that throughout the world it is precisely the experience and knowledge of the leading scientists that are considered the most valuable resource.

The UkSSR Academy of Sciences has acquired substantial experience in the creation of problem-oriented structural subdivisions. Currently, the Ukrainian institutes operate 57 sectorial problem laboratories of 29 all-union and republic ministries. The establishment of creative target collectives was undertaken here several years ago. These are engineering centers in which the bulk of the work on the application of new developments in various sectors is concentrated. Such centers free the scientific subdivisions from many labor-intensive problems related to application and develop strong ties with the "external environment." The first engineering centers were organizationally established in 1984; today the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye.O. Paton alone has six such subdivisions. For example, the results of the work of the engineering center for electron-ray technology are used by more than 40 enterprises of eight ministries (16). The engineering centers became part of the structure of the set of scientific organizations rapidly and efficiently. It will be quite useful for sociologists to study the type of new relations which developed in this connection, the obstacles which appeared and the methods used for their elimination.

Foreign experience as well proves that the creation of engineering centers, which link basic science to industry, becomes vitally needed at a given stage. In the United States, the National Science Foundation initiated a program for the establishment of a network of 25 engineering research centers at universities, where graduate students and university associates and members of industrial companies can work together (17).

Intersectorial Scientific and Technical Centers. Many contemporary scientific and technical problems can be solved only on a multidisciplinary basis by combining basic and applied research, development, design and experimental production within the same organizational complex. Since the solution of such problems frequently leads to technological changes in a series of sectors simultaneously, administratively as well their developments should not be under the jurisdiction of a single sector.

The scale and internal structure of such developments conflict with the departmental structure of the management of sectorial science. By "assigning"

individual aspects of major problems to different academic and sectorial institutes, we are forced to break down a problem not because of inner logic but of departmental barriers. Coordinating the efforts of organizationally dispersed and economically independent coperformers and the subsequent "assembling" of their results take much effort and time.

Naturally, major problems cannot be solved by a single organization. The combination of the efforts of many institutions within the framework of a program-target management will always be necessary. However, each program has its "nucleus" which must be developed under the conditions of a single leadership and unhindered exchange of information (according to American management folklore, "do yourself what is most important").

The interdisciplinary nature of institutes which can contain the "nucleus" of contemporary scientific and technical problems is determined not only by the broad specialization or the personnel: the topics themselves must be varied. This demand defines the scale of the institution as well. It is only a large broadly specialized institute that can attract highly skilled scientists in many areas, offering them the opportunity of participating in research projects in which their discipline is of crucial importance. The usual sectorial scientific research institute cannot become one such by including in its staff specialists of related disciplines, playing an auxiliary role and not setting up viable cells (the "critical mass") of their discipline.

The USSR has gained experience in the creation of scientific and technical centers which can develop the "nucleus" of large programs and lay their foundation. In areas in which such centers have existed for a long time a highly efficient scientific potential has been created. This is typified by the Institute of Electric Welding imeni Ye.O. Paton of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. Today in all production and many nonproduction areas the creation of modern technologies requires the type of organizational foundation which was given to this institute for the development of new welding technologies.

In December 1985 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree on creating intersectorial scientific and technical complexes (MNTK) and taking steps to ensure their functioning (18). Their purpose is to eliminate difficulties related to interdepartmental and interdisciplinary barriers and to ensure the accelerated development and mastery of essentially new technologies developed from basic scientific research.

Currently there are 16 MNTK in operation in the key areas of scientific and technical progress. The large academic institutes are their nuclei and their main distinguishing feature is the integral organizational foundation on which the entire scientific and technical cycle rests. In some cases they also train cadres (many MNTK include VUZs). The MNTK have the possibility of organizing engineering centers for comparing the results of developments for mass application and creating regional scientific and technical centers (19). Unquestionably, the creation of MNTKs will profoundly influence the condition and further development of the network of Soviet scientific institutions. The need to take this step was dictated by the development of scientific and technical problems. In the first stage, interdisciplinary new-type scientific centers are being established essentially in the physical-technological area.

The question of setting up systems of large extradepartmental scientific and technical organizations was raised by scientists some time ago (8), from the economic and organizational-legal viewpoints. Today this question must be considered through the eyes of the sociologist. The organization of MNTKs is an important change in the social structure of scientific activities. As communicating among personnel of different disciplines and types of activities becomes more efficient, and the specific nature of motivations and value orientations of the different detachments of specialists are considered with greater accuracy, their interaction will become more fruitful. It is this, in the final account, that determines the success of any new development in the system of scientific management.

Small Research Organizations. For a number of sociopsychological reasons, large organizations, with their complex management hierarchy, do not provide optimal conditions for the generating and primary investigation of original ideas. They are efficient in the development and implementation of ideas the usefulness of which has already been proven. A network of small research organizations interacting with large ones enables us to make fuller use of the overall creative potential of scientific cadres.

The country's scientific institutions have done extremely few studies of the influence which sociopsychological factors have on the generating and communicating of new ideas. We are forced to rely on intuitive concepts and experience and information obtained from abroad. In the study of literature, American essentially, we can single out factors which operate in organizationally similar institutions regardless of socioeconomic system. The conclusions in this case are research hypotheses to be studied further.

It is difficult to apply general measures in the case of specific research institutions, for the unique combination of personalities and the specific nature of their informal organization determine their features. However, obstructions in generating and communicating original ideas are a typical feature of a large scientific research institute, an old one in particular. The procedure which has developed in assessing ideas, combined with the natural skepticism of competent colleagues, contributes to the adoption of conservative decisions. A considerable share of the most valuable scientific resource--the stock of ideas--is neither used locally nor shared with the potential consumer (20).

In the United States this problem is solved thanks to the large number of small scientific companies (which are, as a rule, satellites of large organizations). Frequently the researcher leaves the corporation or university and sets up a small company to develop and master a valuable idea he has, the so-called spin-off. Such companies geographically gravitate toward the large universities and form conglomerates. For example, in a single area in California about 3,000 companies working in the electronics industry have concentrated. A great accumulation of small science-intensive companies has concentrated along "Route 128," near Boston. "Research parks" have begun to be established in Western European countries as well.

Small companies and independent inventors are major sources of new developments in the United States and are considered a vitally necessary

scientific component. Even in the most science-intensive areas the contribution of small companies is amazingly high. Some of the largest companies, such as Varian (scientific instruments making) and Xerox began their activities as spin-offs. The small Intel Company developed the first microprocessor. Fourth generation computers were developed by Amdahl (a 1970 IBM spin-off) which by 1977 had produced more than 80 supercomputers.

In the United States small scientific companies receive not only loans from special financial corporations or on the basis of contracts with large companies. They are also supported by the federal government. In particular, small companies were given the right to make use of inventions developed in the course of research based on government contracts. The National Science Foundation makes grants of \$35,000 for the investigation of promising ideas. Companies whose ideas have proved useful are given grants of \$200,000 to continue their research at the second stage of the implementation of the program; the companies must attract private funds for the development of the technology (third stage). Such financing has proved quite effective (21).

The big U.S. corporations also try to create the most favorable conditions for creative work. During the period of development of a new idea they set up small companies which are independent of the main company management system (venture management). Such groups, which are granted "independence within the bureaucracy," are usually small (no more than five people). As early as 1973 nearly one quarter of the largest corporations used this approach, while science-intensive companies, which were given bonuses for "innovation in developing the most important technical products" were even more numerous (74 percent)(22). This organizational form is being expanded (23,24).

In our country small research groups united in pursuit of original ideas and oriented more toward solving problems than earning scientific recognition were frequently set up during the period when Soviet science was being established. This was clearly exemplified by the group headed by S.V. Lebedev, which developed a method for obtaining synthetic rubber within an exceptionally short time. Today such groups are virtually nonexistent as a separate structural element, although the need for them, based on the laws of scientific creativity, has become even greater. Indeed, considering the system of material and technical supplies and planning the activities of scientific institutions, it is virtually impossible to do work on a high scientific level within a small research organization. Efforts to create such organizations on a voluntary basis within large institutions (such as the Fakel Firm within the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, which became quite well known in the 1960s) encountered legal and financial obstacles. At that time the main argument in favor of such firms was their high economic efficiency. Today the most substantial arguments are of a sociopsychological order.

Expert Knowledge Cells. By small research organizations we mean collectives the main function of which is the production of knowledge. However, another type of small research collective exists as well (which could function also within large organization, such as scientific research institutes, VUZs and scientific and technical centers). Their task is to be nuclei of expert

knowledge and channels of communication between individual sectors and the cutting edge of domestic and world science.

Scientific studies can be divided into two categories according to purpose: 1. aimed at developing new technologies; 2. carried out on a small scale and aimed at providing the country with expert knowledge in a specific area (cadre training, forecasting and planning, selecting import technology and helping to adapt it to domestic conditions); collectives engaged in such studies carry out scientific activities in areas which are not considered current priorities. Even the scientifically and technically most powerful country cannot simultaneously concentrate in all scientific areas the "critical mass" of resources sufficient for the development of its own technology on a high quality level and within an acceptable period of time. A selective strategy must be applied and priority areas set. However, under the conditions of the fast integration of scientific knowledge, it is quite risky not to have even a small group of "observers" in each scientific area, for any one of them could, after a while, turn out to be of practical significance or important in the development of related priority areas. Even a small scientific nucleus may, if necessary, be rapidly developed to the level of a production status through specific investment of resources (6, p 294).

Obviously, both the structure and organization of laboratories set up for different purposes should be different from each other. In practice, however, it frequently happens that all laboratories and scientific research institutes in a sector are oriented toward the primary objective, i.e., the development of sectorial technologies, although they lack sufficient resources. As a result, while spending a great deal of funds, we develop and apply fewer technologies than we could. Meanwhile we are short of good expert knowledge in a wide range of scientific areas. The cost of laboratories oriented toward the second objective would require tens or even hundreds of times fewer funds than required for developing new technology. The specific expenditures per worker here, however, are quite high and their structure is specific (the high percentage of expenditures on acquiring information, assignments abroad, etc.). The uniformity of targets and organization drastically lowers the overall efficiency.

An efficient scientific and technical policy in each sector presumes a realistic assessment of possibilities in all technological areas and the firm adoption of a selective strategy--the intensification of priority assignments by reducing the number of developments without resources and, at the same time, creating high-quality "expert" laboratories in all scientific areas.

Centers for the Collective Utilization of Scientific Equipment. The evolution of technical facilities for scientific experimentation has led to the fact that even large institutes are unable to purchase and use full sets of required equipment. The automation of instruments and their combination within large measurement-computer systems, the productivity of which greatly exceeds the needs of the individual institution, have resulted in a clash between the traditional method for the use of large pieces of equipment (allocated among institutes) and its technical and economic characteristics. Organizations using an instrument consistent with their technical

possibilities are increasingly becoming a decisive factor in the development of an efficient technological system.

The economic losses suffered by society from the freezing of a considerable share of instruments available in the country are obvious.⁵ Particularly substantial are losses caused by the fact that not all researchers have the needed instruments at their disposal. This lowers the quality of scientific output. This situation causes sociopsychological harm as well. The instruments at the disposal of the scientist are an important factor which determines both the choice of theme, labor productivity and the quality of results, a factor whose importance keeps rising. Drastic disparities in the level of available technical facilities, something inevitable under the existing method for the use of equipment, make researchers from different establishments work under different conditions. By assigning young specialists to poorly equipped laboratories where requirements concerning quality have been frequently lowered, we lose a significant percentage of potentially talented scientists. Even if thanks to their personal capabilities and efforts such scientists achieve good results, they may remain unnoticed, for in the overall assessment of their work the scientific public does not separate the individual contribution of the scientist from the "contribution" resulting from technical and information support.

This situation lowers the efficiency of an important management tool in science--the scientific degree. In principle, the scientific degree should reflect the "quality" of the researcher. In fact, it is awarded on the basis of the quality of the research. The latter, as we know, depends to a tremendous extent on available equipment. Therefore, instead of selecting and promoting the best researchers, the system of scientific degrees gives preference to those with "better facilities."

Naturally, this contradiction cannot be solved with an egalitarian distribution of instruments but rather with the opposite. All too frequently such a distribution nevertheless takes place, as a result of which sets of scientific equipment are dismembered while no efficient technological system is created.

This problem could have been partially solved if the country had a center for the collective utilization of large pieces of equipment which would serve all consumers, regardless of departmental affiliation. This would put an end to the monopoly held by individual institutes. Above all, it would encourage personnel of sectorial scientific research institutes and VUZ and technical school teachers to engage in productive scientific activities. Inventors and rationalizers would gain access to the most advanced means of learning. This would be relatively inexpensive, for measurements in such centers, using automated instruments, operated on a round-the-clock basis, would cost much less compared to the way they are usually used.

Purchasing time for the use of instruments would create the necessary prerequisites for the organization of small temporary collectives of researchers engaged in developing original ideas. Subsidized by the interested ministry, they could lease working space and all the necessary measuring equipment they may need. It would not be a matter merely of the

economic benefits from the work of such collectives. The creation of a material-technical and organizational base for their use would be an important new social development in science.

So far, centers for the collective use of instruments have not become an organic part of the structure of our science, although several dozen such subunits are operating in the country with high efficiency. Difficulties in the application of the new organizational form are not only economic. We believe that it is precisely the sociologists who must find the most painless ways for such application, for this affects the interests of some personnel who are today in a privileged position in terms of availability of modern equipment.

A conversion to the intensive development of science raises the question of efficiently improving its organizational structure. The network of scientific institutions should not be considered something inviolable. The scale and level of scientific development are no longer what they were many years ago, when the structure of these institutions was only being developed. The task of the sociology of science is to help achieve here a radical reconstruction at lower economic and social costs and maximal efficiency in the utilization of the main resource--the knowledge and talent of the scientist.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thus, without developing systematic concepts on animal nutrition and mastering the methods of modern biochemistry, scientific institutions promoted major changes in animal husbandry feed production. As a result, we are feeding the animals a great deal more protein than is necessary, which leads to illness and declining productivity (7). We have also become accustomed to reports according to which departmental institutes actively oppose new technologies developed in academic institutions or other departments (8,9). Finally, we know of cases in which opposition to new equipment and technology assumes a demonstrative nature. Let us recall the sledgehammer with which original instruments for an instrument control of transformer steel, which earned 50 foreign patents and 7 VDNKh medals, and equipment and technical documentation consisting of 1,020 sheets of blueprints (10) were wrecked.
2. Science is not the only method for obtaining practically useful knowledge. The personnel of such institutions could provide the production process with the necessary information even without being scientists. However, the efficiency of their work as a whole cannot even be compared with a situation in which the problem is solved on a scientific basis. That is why a sober judgment must be exercised as to whether or not a given subsector has a real scientific potential or else whether behind the screen of a scientific research institute useful but not scientific work is being done.
3. Let us recall the rule prevailing in the administration of science in the United States: regardless of the type of steps taken in scientific policy and science financing, the first problem to be discussed is the way they would affect the "scientific superiority centers" of the country. The

preservation of the scientific standards of such centers is considered a mandatory prerequisites on the basis of which all drafts of organizational new developments are amended.

4. Thus, Hoecht, the West German concern, assigned \$70 million for equipping a molecular biology laboratory at Harvard University in the United States. The only condition was that it will accept every year four trainees who are members of the concern's personnel (15).
5. In U.S. universities approximately 40 percent of instruments worth between \$10,000 and \$1 million are subject to various forms of collective use. Each such instrument was used by an average of 21.8 researchers, whereas instruments installed in their own laboratories were used by an average of 8.9 people (25).

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EXPERIENCE IN THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

EXPERIMENT IN STRENGTHENING TIES BETWEEN MATERIAL AND MORAL INCENTIVE AND SOCIALIST COMPETITION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86 (signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 59-68

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[Text] A socioeconomic experiment on intensifying the tie between material and moral incentive and the results of the socialist competition has been underway since the beginning of 1983 among the labor collectives of the All-Union Industrial Fishing Administration of the Northern Basin (VRPO Sevryba); the demand for the "fuller utilization of the material incentive and wage funds in offering bonuses to the workers based on competition results," which was formulated by the CPSU Central Committee in its 26 September 1983 decree "On Improving the Organization, Practice and Summing Up the Results of the Socialist Competition and Encouraging its Winners" (3) is being implemented.

It was the adverse fishing situation that led the management and party and trade union organizations of the association to seek new forms of labor organization and incentive. At the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th 5-year plans the results of the association's work worsened: compared with 1980 the 1983 catch was 4 percent lower and the production of fish for food dropped by nearly 13 percent. The number of crews which failed to fulfill their plans increased. In 1983 almost one out of three vessels failed to meet their assignments. The work of shore enterprises worsened as well: repairs at shipyards dragged and substantial claims were filed against the fish processing combine. Under these circumstances, the association's management

decided to apply the recommendation of the sociologists, aimed at more closely linking the system of distribution according to labor with the organization of the socialist competition. Let us remind the readers that said recommendations were formulated first in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (5) in which the theoretical foundations of the experiment were also described.

Scientists from the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy were asked to participate in drafting the conditions and organizing the experiment. They offered suggestions for the methodical guidance, while the main organizational and analytical work was assumed by the association's specialists. In coordination with the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry, initially the experiment involved the crews of four ships of the Murmansk trawling fleet and five shipyard brigades. The effectiveness of the new development became apparent quite soon and its stipulations were extended to all crews of the ships of the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk trawling fleets, the White Sea State Fishing Base, 27 brigades of the Murmanskaya Sudoverf Production Association and the collective of Curing Plant No 3 of the Murmansk Fish Processing Combine. In 1985 the experiment was extended to the crews of the ships of the Murmanrybprom Production Association and Sevrybkhodflot Administration, 54 shipyard brigades and the collective of Curing Plant No 2. All in all, more than 30,000 people became involved in the experiment. Let us consider its nature, conditions and results.

As we know, so far there has been a direct connection between norming and average wage: earnings depend on the percentage of implementation of the norm. With such a procedure, the lower the norm the simpler it becomes to earn one's pay. Understandably, this adversely affects the quality of norms and plans and hinders increases in labor productivity and, consequently, reduces production efficiency. Numerous efforts to motivate the personnel to review norms by paying them one-time bonuses while preserving the direct connection between the norm and the wage failed. The existing wage system also influences the attitude toward planned assignments: the latter are computed on the basis of standards (in theory at least, for in practice they are frequently set "on the basis of achievements") and are also directly related to the assessment of labor and wages. Therefore, the performers are interested in obtaining lighter planned assignments.

The experiment was based on the hypothesis that lack of interest in a stressed standard and a planned assignment can be eliminated if the direct connection between them and wages are replaced by an indirect one and if competition be used as an intermediary link. In this connection, the decision was made to convert from the traditional labor incentive system of "labor norm-wage" to a new one: "labor norm-competition-wage."

According to the new system, the labor norm performs what is essentially a function of accountability. It is a means through which the work is measured. The amount of the bonus paid to the individual or the collective is based not on the percentage of norm or plan fulfillment, as in the past, but on the rating achieved in the competition. The size of the bonus is determined in advance while all the rest is decided through the labor rivalry, by comparing labor results, productivity, quality of output and other parameters.

Something else encouraged converting to the new labor incentive system. As we know, norms are set on a centralized basis and, naturally, cannot take into consideration all differences in labor conditions at each work place. Although officially all norm/hours are the same, in reality this equality is quite arbitrary, and even if attained it is immediately violated as a result of the technical, organizational and other changes which are made at the enterprise on a daily basis. That which remains hidden to the outsider, however, is well known by the collective: here the real difficulty of each norm is assessed quite rapidly and the work is divided into profitable and unprofitable. If the amount of earnings depends exclusively on the percentage of norm implementation, the principle of equal wages for equal labor is formally observed but actually violated. This can be eliminated only if some of the earnings are distributed within the collective in accordance with actual labor conditions and individual contributions to general work results. In the brigade this takes place with the help of the labor participation coefficient. On a higher level, it is competition that can eliminate the actual unfairness of distribution within a section, shop or enterprise.

Therefore, the purpose of the new labor incentive system was double: to eliminate the lack of interest in adopting stressed standards and planned assignments and to achieve a fair wage system. Changes were made in the labor incentive conditions and in the organization of the socialist competition among the labor collectives of the Sevryba VRPO in order to test this assumption.

Above all, the amount of bonuses based on the results of the socialist competition was raised significantly. This was achieved by combining in a single competition fund the funds allocated according to the plan for the following items: bonuses for achieved results; bonuses based on the results of intraplant socialist competition; and a one-time award for implementation of particularly important production assignments.

It is thus that without exceeding the planned amounts, a source of bonuses based on competition results was created, several hundred percent higher than the previously established one. This made it possible not only to increase the absolute amount of the bonuses but also significantly to broaden the range of bonus recipients.

In 1985 80 bonuses were allocated for crews of fishing ships, including 17 first, 32 second and 31 third prizes. As a result, every member of a crew who had won in the competition could earn a monthly bonus of 40 to 50 rubles (before the experiment the amount averaged 7 rubles). Bonuses to ships which had overfulfilled their sailing assignments by no less than 20 percent were increased by 50 percent.

At the Murmanskaya Sudoverf Association, bonuses based on competition results were paid to brigades on the basis of percentages of their piece-rate output, reaching as high as 40 - 80 rubles per month per brigade member. Although there were three bonuses (first, second and third), their number equaled the number of brigades participating in the competition, for which reason each collective which met the competition conditions was given a bonus.

At the Murmansk Fish Processing Combine payments based on the result of the socialist competition were raised by 5 to 25 rubles per person. The bonuses of engineering and technical personnel were increased significantly (as much as 100 rubles monthly). Such bonuses were paid if the collective was among the competition winners in the combine.

Successes were encouraged with moral incentives as well: certificates, pennants, citations, gifts, names listed on the board of honor, all of this synchronized with material rewards.

The following must be noted among the other conditions of the experiment: its participants were divided into groups operating in similar or roughly equal conditions and job similarities; the competition was among crew members and shore enterprise brigades. Within the brigades and crews the results of the individual competition were determined with the help of the labor participation coefficient, after which the rating of the collective within the group was determined. The material incentives based on the rating covered as many as 80 percent of the participants in the labor competition.

Under the conditions of the experiment, labor collectives which had achieved the highest results based on the following indicators could be considered winners in the socialist competition:

1. Fishing vessels: volume of the catch, volume of frozen output, quality (grade) and market value.
2. Ship productivity: volume of fish output, reduced direct material costs, and value of marketable output.
3. Transport vessels: utilization of working time in fishing, hold capacity, profits.
4. Murmansk Shipyards brigades: reducing the time for ship repairs, labor productivity, production quality (redoing the work, etc.), labor quality coefficient, and implementation of bilateral contracts with the crews of repaired ships.
5. Brigades of basic workers in the curing plants of the Murmansk Fish Processing Combine: production of sea food and labor productivity in physical terms. Brigades of auxiliary services: volume of repair work, its quality, no breakdowns or idling by the fault of the workers.

General indicators were set for all collectives, such as lowering outlays of power and material resources, the condition of labor safety and techniques, observing discipline and public order. The crews which had committed gross violations of fishing rules and allowed breakdowns were not considered in summing up competition results.

This list of indicators shows that they express only the essence of production activities, thanks to which unity in the competition and the labor process could be achieved.

Also in the course of the experiment we tested the integral indicator of the economic efficiency of the competition. It embodies Marx's familiar concept that "real economy--savings--consists of saving on working time" (1). We tried to combine the indicators of reduction of total labor and material outlays per unit of output and indicators of the utilization of basic assets of the fleet and the shore enterprises in terms of capacity and time, as follows:

$$E_{\text{comp}} = K_1 \times K_2 = \text{results/outlays} \times \text{results/assets}.$$

As we can see, the integral indicator is based on multiplying the indices of the growth of labor productivity and capital returns. Its main purpose is to direct the competing collectives toward upgrading the efficiency not only of labor but of materials. With such an assessment of efficiency in the competition the enterprise collectives did not allow any idling of ships being loaded or undergoing current repairs. The ship's crew tried to make use of its capacity to the fullest extent. The shore enterprises, the fish combine plants, the docks and the shipyards increased the number of work shifts and made better use of the equipment.

The experiment indicated that the results of the competition improve when labor is efficiently utilized not only "by itself" but also according to its equipment, such as powerful devices, modern conditions for catching, transporting and processing sea products, machine tools and equipment at the docks and shipyards. Therefore, the integral indicator not only enables us to reduce to a single denominator the various operations, to compute savings and to compare labor results of collectives operating under different circumstances but also (together with increased material incentives based on competition results) to stimulate the implementation of measures which yield the greatest savings in overall outlays of labor and materials.

The results of the socialist competition based on the indicators used in the experiment are computed by the ship administration and trade union committee, taking the recommendations of the labor collective into consideration (on a daily basis, for crew members); brigade councils (on a daily basis, among brigade members); by the managements of the headquarters of fishing areas, flag captains or flag specialists (daily, among ship crews working in the respective fishing area); by the ship administration and the trade union committee, in accordance with the recommendations of the council of brigade leaders (among brigades, daily); the management of the fleet and the trade union, in accordance with the recommendations of the staffs of the fishing areas (among crews, monthly, by no later than the 10th of the following month); by the management of the shore enterprise and trade union committee, in accordance with the recommendations of the councils of brigade leaders (monthly among brigades, by no later than the 10th of the following month).

Specific comradely mutual aid within the collective and among ship crews is considered in summing up the results of the competition. Bonuses are distributed among the workers on the basis of the labor participation coefficient (KTU) by the brigade (crew) council. The managements of the fleets and shore enterprises determine the amount of bonuses issued to managers of collectives and chairmen of trade union committees. The bonuses

are added to the earnings to which are added a rayon coefficient and supplement for work in the Extreme North.

In order to manage the experiment, a scientific-methodical council was set up including managers and specialists from the VRPO and enterprises in the basin, the trade union aktiv and personnel of the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy. The results of the experiment were systematically considered at meetings of the council of directors of the association and the presidiums of the Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and Karelian trade union obkoms.

The basic production problem which was solved in the course of the experiment was increasing the production of fish for food and improving its variety and quality; the social task was to increase labor and social activeness and strengthen discipline and order. Let us consider the way they were met.

As we pointed out, immediately preceding the beginning of the mass application of the conditions of the experiment (January, 1984) the work indicators of the association had been worsening for a number of years. Thus, compared with 1982, the 1983 catch had dropped by 1.3 percent; the production of fish products for food by 13.3 percent; specially processed fish, 22 percent; and canned fish products, 0.5 percent. Labor productivity had increased insignificantly, by 1.2 percent.

Compared with 1983, the 1984 indicators were as follows: catch increased by 8 percent; the production of fish for food increased by 11.5 percent; special processing of fish, 77.4 percent; and canned fish products, by 2.7 percent. Labor productivity increased by 7.8 percent. Sevryba quantitative and qualitative work indicators continued to improve in 1985. Compared with 1984, the catch increased by 0.6 percent; the production of fish for food by 6.6 percent; special fish processing nearly doubled and the production of canned fish products increased by 4.1 percent; variety improved and labor productivity increased by 3.3 percent.

Let us note that improvements in the work of Sevryba in 1985 took place despite a major error in forecasting the catch in the Barents Sea and ship idling because of breakdowns in fuel supplies. In a word, the basic production assignment which was solved in the course of the experiment was met. What was the role which the new wage system played in improving the work of Sevryba?

The specific nature of any social experiment is determined by multifactorial phenomena and processes, their stochastic nature and the predominance of quality characteristics which are difficult to analyze quantitatively. Therefore, the question of the purity of the social experiment is one of the most difficult in the interpretation of its results. In our case, it was ensured, first of all, by closely watching the results of the work, the status of the discipline, and the development of a system of accountability and control in collectives participating in the experiment and those working according to the old method and, secondly, the comprehensive comparison among results of activities of labor collectives participating and not participating in the experiment. A systematic comparison proved that the collectives operating under the new conditions were doing better work.

In 1984 three of the four main industrial fleets of Sevryba worked under the conditions of the experiment: the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk Trawling and the White Sea State Fishing Base. The fourth--Murmannybprom--continued to work by the old method. As a result, the first three fleets fulfilled their annual gross production plans, respectively, 106.4, 116.7 and 108.8 percent. The following year Murmannybprom as well converted to the experiment. It is true that here the competition has a specific nature: it is organized on the basis of the detachment-link method. However, the general principle--increased bonuses based on competition results--was observed here as well. Murmannybprom fulfilled its 1985 plan 102.3 percent and its annual output increased by 9 percent.

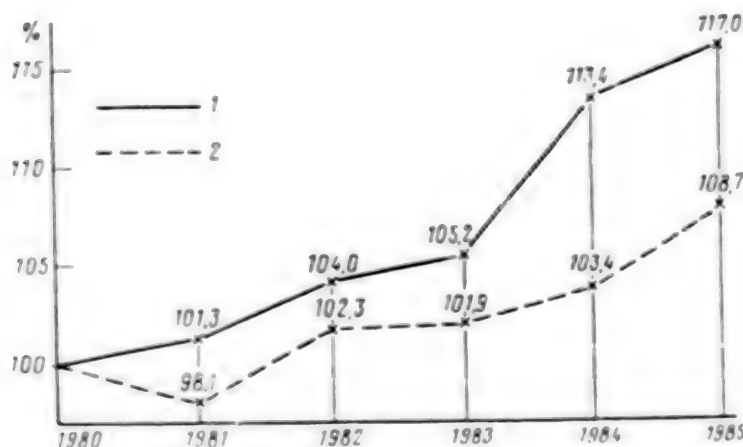
But could it be that some processes characteristic of the entire fishing industry affected improvements in Sevryba work? In order to determine the role of the experiment, it would be expedient to compare Sevryba results with those of the work of other all-union fish industry associations. Compared with 1984, the 1985 marketable fish products for food for the all-union fish industry associations was characterized by the following figures: Sevryba, 106.9 percent; Dalryba, 104.4 percent; Azcherryba, 101.6 percent; Zapryba, 97.9 percent; Kaspyba, 94.6 percent. As we may see, in terms of this indicator, Sevryba did better.

Let us now consider the growth of labor productivity. We must point out that the fishing industry is considered an extracting sector, where such growth is achieved with great difficulty and cannot be increased by manipulating prices, which is sometimes possible in other sectors, for which reason planned assignments for the growth of labor productivity here are insignificant, ranging between 1 and 2 percent. As we pointed out, in 1984 Sevryba increased its labor productivity 7.8 percent. The following year this increase continued and, compared with 1984, amounted to 3.3 percent. We must point out that compared with other all-union fish industry associations, Sevryba was the only one to fulfill its 1985 plan for the growth of labor productivity 101.6 percent. The other associations were unable to meet this planned assignment (Dalryba, 99.97 percent; Kaspyba, 99.6 percent; Zapryba, 99.5 percent; and Azcherryba, 98.6 percent).

It indicates that Sevryba achieved an improvement in production indicators to a certain extent thanks to the socioeconomic experiment. It is very important that the increased bonuses based on the competition were exclusively from redistribution and not by increasing the material incentive fund. The correlation between the growth of labor productivity and wages is clearly shown on the diagram below.

As the diagram shows, in 1984 the growth of productivity was 8.2 percent (the diagram shows a growth of labor productivity for 1984 as equaling 8.2 percent, although we previously quoted the figure 7.8 percent. The disparity is due to the fact that on the diagram the computation of percentages starts from 1980, whereas in the text, from 1983), whereas the growth of wages did not exceed 1.5 percent. This is a good correlation but the following question arises: why was it that people were trying their best and their wages were lower than what they could earn under ordinary circumstances? The analysis of the situation enabled us to determine the following: the winners in the

competition had earned more than they could without the experiment; under the new conditions, labor productivity can and does grow without wage increases. Why? Because the amount of the bonus is fixed and stable. Those who wish to obtain more must outstrip their rivals who, however, do not stand still themselves. The result is that everyone increases his labor productivity while bonuses remain the same. Hence the important conclusion that if distribution according to labor is based on competition, it becomes significantly easier to maintain and supervise the necessary correlation between the growth of labor productivity and wages. The latter can be increased with the development of the necessary prerequisites and higher bonuses based on the results of the competition for the current year may be awarded.



1. Labor productivity; 2. Wage

The experiment was extended not only to the work of the fleets but involved coastal enterprises as well. Initially no more than five brigades applied the experiment at the Murmanskaya Sudoverf Production Association; in 1985 the number of such brigades rose to 81 with 1,300 members. The work indicators steadily improved in the collectives converted to the new wage system, for which reason new collectives willingly joined in the experiment. In 1985 the shipyards repaired 685 ships instead of 522 as planned, i.e., they fulfilled their assignment 131.2 percent. Based on the results of the 1985 all-union socialist competition and of the 11th 5-Year Plan, the collective of the Murmanskaya Sudoverf Association was awarded the red challenge banner of the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Food Industry Workers. The brigades applying the conditions of the experiment at the Murmansk Fish Processing Combine achieved higher labor productivity, excellent production quality and stronger labor and technological discipline.

Let us consider the results of the experiment on the social level.

The views of the immediate participants in the experiment indicate that the human factor was enhanced. Rewards for victory in the competition encourage the members to reach not the standards but the level attained by their rival

and to surpass it. Holding back reserves and lowering one's possibilities become meaningless; lagging enterprises try to catch up with frontrankers and then outstrip them. In the 2 years of the experiment the number of ship's crews which failed to fulfill their assignments dropped sharply, whereas previously this indicator had been rising.

In 1984 the crew of the large independent trawler "Marshal Yeremenko" set a record in the entire history of the fishing fleet of the Northern Basin, by catching more than 20,000 tons of fish. In 1985 once again this crew did excellent work. N.I. Gutskalov, captain-director of the trawler and delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, believes that it was the new organization of the competition and its close connection with material incentive that had a determining influence on the success achieved by the collective. A similar viewpoint was expressed by managers of other leading crews. "The new work method," noted Captain-Director V.L. Shapovalov, "radically changed the very approach to the work. Today the crew members do not think of how to avoid their shift. All of them together process the fish, and are concerned with the production of improved varieties of finished food products."

Murmansk journalist V.V. Chisnikov, who traveled aboard the "Ivan Ayzovskiy" refrigerator ship, describes the course of the competition on board as follows: "The socialist competition becomes particularly intensive in this ship whenever any of the units has fallen behind toward the end of a given stage in the work. Immediately the activeness of the people becomes immeasurably greater." He cites a characteristic example: a link leader turned to the chairman of the ship's trade union committee with the request that no assistance be given to the watch. "You understand what happens," he explained: "When the results are summed up the aid given to the watch is taken into consideration. Naturally, the resulting success is shared.... So we considered the following: since we have fallen behind the second shift by 250 tons, it would be better to catch up without sharing..." (6). It is natural, therefore, that the loading and unloading operations of the Sevryba ships are now completed nearly twice as fast as in other associations.

Naturally, increased labor productivity in the experiment was achieved not only by such refusal of help but, above all, as a result of the awakened creative thinking which enables the collectives, with its rationalizers and inventors, confidently to take the lead. The new conditions for labor incentive in the competition are contributing to upgrading the labor and social activeness, educating the seamen and involving them in production management. Here is a typical example: on the suggestion of the crew council of the "Gletcher" fishing-production refrigerator ship, the work order of watches and watches on duty was changed in order to improve the comparability of competition results. Many other suggestions were submitted. Not only comparability but labor productivity increased and, based on the result of the trip, on two occasions the crew won first place in the intra-fleet competition.

While fishing is underway, competition results in the fleet are summed up on a daily basis. Is this not too frequent? We asked this question of several seamen participating in the experiment. Essentially, the answer was the following: the crew is at sea for long periods of time. The people are away

from the land, from their friends, and it is matters to them to feel the importance of their work and their ties with other collectives. The competition is one such tie. The daily roll-call on the ocean, information about who has caught and processed what, who is ahead and who is behind, gives a meaning to the hard life at sea. Everyone is concerned, waiting for results, wanting to know how they have done compared to others.

The idea of combining the competition with breakdown according to labor was met skeptically by some people, for in their view it was virtually impossible to set objective criteria for determining the winners. In practice, however, no particular problems arise, for the results are summed up with the participation of the entire collective. Everyone is interested in an accurate assessment and the system of recording outlays and results can be improved quickly. Let us cite Chisnikov once again: "Some time ago," he writes, "the Ayvazovskiy crew began to keep a special log on time outlays. It was always on the bridge. Navigators would record all types of work, including the preparation of the holds, mooring and everything else. Furthermore, the ship's committee would be given information by the second officer, who is directly in charge of freight operations. He gives the ship's committee chairman steady information on which shift has handled how much produce and within what period of time. Again, we have high output..." (6).

The fleet was also concerned with avoiding boasting and with disseminating progressive experience and mutual aid, which are also considered in summing up results. Rating in the competition depends not only on economic indicators but also on people who are familiar with the working conditions of each crew and its material, technical and other possibilities. Here economic indicators play an exceptionally important role without being the only criteria.

The competition on shore, which also includes material and moral incentives, calls for perfecting the organization of the work. Under the new conditions, control over its results has qualitatively changed its role. It is needed by the participants in the competition as a means of determining the truth, for which reason they themselves are concerned with its efficiency and encourage in this matter both the administration and the trade union. Demand for publicity in the competition, efficiency, accuracy and completeness of information has increased.

A typical case occurred after the collective of Curing Plant No. 2 was included in the experiment. Brigade members engaged in cold curing pointed out to the administration that they were doing more work than the competing collectives which were engaged in the production of semi-finished goods, which should be taken into consideration in summing up competition results. The claim proved to be just and corresponding changes were made in labor organization and norming.

Let us note yet another favorable trend in the life of the collective in this fish industry association. In 1985, compared with 1984, violations of labor discipline and public order diminished by 10 percent; absenteeism declined by 13 percent and working time losses caused by absenteeism by 23 percent. Order improved precisely where the experiment was applied: at the Murmansk trawling fleet, the shipyards and the fish combine. This is confirmed not by

statistical figures alone. V.S. Popov, head of one of the repair brigades at the fish combine, noted at the January 1986 meeting of the scientific-method council, that thanks to participation in the experiment the number of discipline violators in the brigade had declined from 17 in 1983 to 2 in 1985 and that no single violation had occurred in 1985.

We cannot say that the experiment is taking place without a hitch. It has its problems. One of them has to do with the contradiction between value and physical assessments of the work results of the collectives. Here is a typical case at the fish combine: approximately one third of its output in terms of value, is fish fat. Yet it is produced by only one twentieth of the collective. In 1985 the plan for fish fat could not be fulfilled due to lack of raw materials. Therefore, the production shortfall was estimated at 14 million rubles. As a result, profits and other indicators computed on the basis of value ratings were below the planned levels. Although the plan for the production of other commodities was overfulfilled, the collective was unable to compensate for the loss of such a substantial sum. Payments from the material incentive fund were stopped, although the people had begun to work better. This case proves once again that "assessing the activities of socialist enterprises on the basis of profits (profitability) invariably twists the results, for profits not only reflect but can also distort the labor contribution of production collectives" (7).

Other difficulties exist as well. We still come across a lack of understanding and unwillingness on the part of some specialists to deal with new and, in their view, bothersome matters. As a whole, however, the initiative is gathering strength mainly for the reason that the workers themselves are interested in it. Watching the course of the competition, which involves distribution according to labor, and talking with the workers, one begins to understand better why V.I. Lenin considered the organization of competition on a socialist principle "one of the most important and most rewarding tasks in the reorganization of society" (2).

The VRPO Sevryba fulfilled its plan for catching fish and other sea products ahead of schedule, by 22 November 1985; it fulfilled its plan for the volume of output by 24 November. In December 1985 the AUCCTU commission in charge of mass production and economic work approved the joint work conducted by the VRPO Sevryba and the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy on upgrading the material incentive of the participants in the socialist competition for achieving high end results.

The experiment proved that material incentive, correlated with the successes of the workers and collectives competing against each-other, contributes to the implementation of the law of distribution according to labor and virtually eliminates equalization. It motivates the search for and utilization of reserves for upgrading labor productivity and improving production quality and urges on the lagging collectives to reach the level of the frontrankers. The new incentive procedure significantly facilitates control over the proper correlation between the growth of wages and labor productivity, for the competitors act within the limits of a predetermined bonus size.

For the time being, it is only the material incentive funds that are distributed on the basis of the experimental competition conditions. In our view, it would be expedient to include bonuses from the wage fund. This step will contribute even further to upgrading production efficiency.

By its very nature, socialist competition presumes a comparative evaluation of the results of the activities of workers and collectives and, being closely related to material labor incentive, can contribute to solving the problems formulated in the new draft of the CPSU program: developing a distribution mechanism which would reliably block equalization in wages and would give real advantages to the best labor collectives. This will ensure the further implementation of the socialist principle of social justice (4).

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APPLIED RESEARCH

RATIONALIZATION OF THE LABOR OF AUXILIARY WORKERS

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[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Leonid Solomonovich Blyakhman, Leningrad State University imeni A.A. Zhdanov. Author of the monographs "Proizvodstvennyy Kollektiv" [The Production Collective] (1978), "Ekonomika Nauchno-Tekhnicheskogo Progressa" [The Economics of Scientific and Technical Progress] (1979) and others. Author of the following articles published in this journal: "Social Consequences of the Technical Retooling of Enterprises" (No 1, 1982, coauthored) and "Wage Differentiation as a Factor of Labor Stimulation" (No 1, 1984, coauthored); and Lyudmila Petrovna Brovkina, candidate of economic sciences, assistant, department of industrial economics and organization of production, Leningrad Technological Institute of the Refrigeration Industry. This is her first publication in this journal]

[Text] The firm course charted by the party toward the radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress and upgrading the role of the human factor in economic development calls for significant technical, organizational and social changes in all production units. In particular, we must substantially reduce the auxiliary personnel engaged in manual labor (in machine building, for example, today 96 percent of warehouse workers, 95 percent of controllers and 62 percent of transportation and loading workers perform manual work (1)); we must review the social status and position of this separate and heterogenous socioprofessional group within the production collective. The forthcoming changes will inevitably entail a series of new problems. Thus, releasing workers engaged in manual labor will require their retraining based on labor potential, preferences and value orientations; the installation of mechanization facilities will call for reviewing the classification of workers engaged in the technical and organizational servicing of the basic production process; the increased complexity of the equipment will increase requirements concerning the quality of labor of the auxiliary personnel and their qualification standards.

The solution of these and other problems is a matter for the immediate future and the relevance of the sociological study of this contingent is obvious.

Our study (1980) was conducted in Leningrad, at the enterprises of five food industry subsectors (meat, confectionary, bakery, starch syrup and nutritive

assets). As a whole, here the share of auxiliary personnel ranges from 45 to 65 percent of the total; in terms of their sociodemographic and skill-professional characteristics, they are drastically different from workers engaged in basic production (primarily women). We applied the zoned random selection system ($n = 500$) which is representative for the leading indicators (profession, grade, sex, age). In processing the data with a computer, we computed the coefficients of interdependence of Pierson (S) and Chuprov (K) and the correlation among the following indicators: a. labor potential (sex, age, education, grade, length of professional training, professional seniority and length of service at the enterprise, value orientation, participation in management and in improving the production process, satisfaction with job and profession and potential turnover); b. conditions and nature of labor (difficulty, monotony, correlation between physical and mental work, work autonomy, level of mechanization); c. labor efficiency (promptness and quality of the work, reduction in the standard number of personnel and outlays of material resources and results of production rationalizations).

Table 1

Educational Standard, Professional Seniority and Age of Auxiliary Workers with Different Skills, Average Number of Years

Skill	Education	Age	Seniority
Controller	9.9	41	11
Electrician	9.8	41	16.5
Warehouse man	9.5	47	11
Tuner	9.0	47	20
Fitter-Repairman	8.6	44	20
Production system machine worker	8.3	47	13.5
Electric and gas welder	8.1	46	13
Turner	8.0	45	20
Auxiliary worker	7.5	46	7.5
Driver	7.3	42	13
Construction worker	7.2	44	17
Loading worker	7.0	42	9
Packaging worker	7.0	48	10
Container washer	6.0	45	8
Janitor, cloakroom attendant	5.8	53	8

As we know, the content of the work is characterized essentially by the functional obligations of the worker. In the case of the contingent under study, we singled out the functions of technical servicing (equipment repair, manufacturing and repair of instruments, manufacturing of nonstandard equipment and means of mechanization and automation); production services (power supply, storage of material values for general industrial use, procurement of packaging materials and containers, interplant hauling, current repairs of buildings and installations, cleaning work premises and areas, landscaping and gardening) and operational services (equipment tuning, raw-material quality control, semi-finished and finished goods, inter-plant hauling, intra-plant hauling, storage of raw and basic materials packaging and

shipping out finished goods, preparing raw materials for industrial use, and cleaning equipment, packaging and industrial premises).

As to the individual sociodemographic characteristics of auxiliary workers, our study showed the following: average age, 47; type of professional training: 63.5 percent of the respondents had acquired their skill on the job; 13.9 percent at short courses; 13.3 percent at PTU with a training period of more than one year; 9.3 percent in a technical school; professional stability: 38 percent have worked in their field more than 20 years; 40.6 percent, more than 10 years, and only 21.12 percent, less than 3 years. Most of the respondents (71.2 percent), men in particular, had deliberately chosen this profession, attracted by conditions and labor intensiveness (28.3 percent); job variety and independence (26.3 percent), and importance to the enterprise (45.4 percent).

However, variations within these and the other indicators were so great that they prevented us from classifying auxiliary workers in a single group. Approximately 15 percent of them are without secondary specialized or unfinished higher training; about 20 percent are fifth or sixth grade graduates and 9.6 percent are primary school graduates only. On the basis of this indicator, which is closely related to skill, value orientations in labor and creative activeness, the 15 most common professions may be classified into four groups (table 1). Among skilled workers engaged primarily in mental work (controllers, electricians, warehouse men, tuners) with a ninth-tenth-grade education, the correlation between average age and job seniority is 2.5:4.3. Among workers engaged in skilled physical labor with elements of mental activities (fitter-repairman, production system machine operator, welder, turner), with 8-8.6 years of training, the correlation is 2.2:3.5, which is an indication of lesser professional stability. Workers engaged in essentially physical labor requiring average skills (construction and auxiliary workers, drivers), with a seventh-eighth-grade education, and unskilled workers (loaders, packaging workers, washers, junior servicing personnel), with a maximum seventh-grade education are, as a rule, older and their labor seniority (particularly of auxiliary workers, loaders and cleaners) is significantly lower than that of members of the remaining categories.

As the other studies confirm, particularly that at the KamAZ, unskilled labor prevails at the general auxiliary services (51.5 percent in 1975, 49.8 percent in 1982); their share in these subdivisions is higher by a factor of 1.6 compared to basic production facilities (2). Meanwhile, many repair skills are included in the 140 skills requiring basic mental work (3), which require higher skills (fifth-sixth grade), secondary specialized training, the ability to make independent decisions and to manage personnel, to regulate the technological process and to engage in complex computation-analytical operations.

We named the functions which determine the nature of the jobs of auxiliary workers. Since the latter are a socially heterogeneous category, it would be expedient to single out within its group several groups within which the least variation of social indicators may be found. Such differentiation would enable us to determine for each group the specific tasks of social development under the conditions of scientific and technical progress.

1. Workers engaged in technical preparations and equipment servicing in basic production (tuners, adjusters, electricians, etc.). Increased automation at the enterprise increases this group to 30-40 percent of the total number of workers; the functions they perform are no longer auxiliary.

2. Workers engaged in organizational preparations and servicing of basic production (warehouse men, controllers, etc.). Their work can be totally mechanized, for which reason the size of this category will be reduced. About 30 percent of them, should they be released, would like to become brigade leaders or foremen in the same enterprise, after proper training.

3. Workers repairing equipment which is part of the capital assets and used in making spare parts and instruments. The existence of said personnel, at food industry enterprises in particular, is an anachronism caused by the low level of specialization, departmental exclusivity, and lack of a system of follow-up services of equipment already sold. The members of this group violate labor discipline more frequently than others. They show the maximal indicators of cadre turnover and the highest percentage of people dissatisfied with wages which are substantially lower than at similar operations in machine building and construction, for instance. Transfers in such sectors are possible without particular retraining.

4. Transport workers. Here we note the greatest differentiation in terms of age, education (from primary to higher), previous career and least satisfaction with labor. Comprehensive mechanization reduces drastically (by a factor of 4-5) the number of such workers and essentially makes vocational retraining necessary.

5. Junior servicing personnel, consisting essentially of women of preretirement and retirement age, whose educational level is low. This explains the fact that, as a whole, 44.2 percent of women auxiliary workers have no category and 40.3 percent have categories 1 to 3 (the respective figures for men are 8.7 and 6.9 percent). Only 4.9 percent of fifth and sixth category workers are women and 64.5 percent are men. As such workers retire, those who were unable to complete their school training in the first postwar years (born 1930-1940), filling the vacancies they create becomes increasingly difficult, the more so since possibilities of automation at such sectors are limited from the viewpoint of economic results.

The mathematical-statistical analysis showed a clearly manifested link between the group breakdowns and indicators of the labor potential of auxiliary workers, their attitude toward labor and their satisfaction with its organization (table 2).

The members of the first two groups form the progressive part of the entire labor collective. More than 64 percent of them were conscious of the social significance and content of the labor (in other groups, from 10-30 percent). More than one half of the respondents engaged in repairing mechanisms and manufacturing nonstandard equipment engage in technically creative work (8 percent for the enterprise). Here the number of those who had chosen consciously their profession was significantly higher (by a factor of 5.5). The more skilled the labor, the higher the percentage of those who have chosen

their profession on the basis of social needs (9.2 percent in the first two groups and 9.7 percent in the last). Conversely, orientation toward labor conditions and accidental factors among highly skilled workers, compared with medium and underskilled workers was lesser by a factor of 6 (respectively, 56.9 and 9.1 percent) and 2.5 (27.4 and 10.4 percent).

Table 2:

Connection Between the Nature of Production Functions of Auxiliary Workers and Indicators of Labor Potential, Attitude Toward Labor and Satisfaction with its Organization

Indicator	Coefficient	
	Pierson (S)	Chuprov (K)
Labor Potential		
Category	0.749	0.378
Education	0.613	0.231
Length of professional training	0.610	0.246
Length of work in the profession	0.546	0.208
Professional stability	0.536	0.241
Age	0.529	0.199
Total labor seniority	0.470	0.170
Labor seniority at specific enterprise	0.449	0.161
Attitude Toward Labor		
Average wage	0.691	0.320
Reason for choice of profession	0.603	0.253
Increased skill	0.563	0.209
Participation in production rationalization	0.497	0.241
Satisfaction with profession	0.483	0.209
Value orientation in labor	0.418	0.175
Combination of skills	0.403	0.167
Use of progressive labor methods	0.350	0.157
Participation in social work	0.324	0.144
Satisfaction		
Technical labor facilities	0.552	0.252
Sanitation-hygienic labor conditions	0.496	0.217
Moral rewards for labor	0.495	0.216
Amount of wage	0.478	0.201
General labor conditions	0.474	0.205
Labor payment systems	0.472	0.204
Organization of labor norming	0.447	0.190
Prospects for growth and improved skill	0.435	0.183
Labor rhythm	0.439	0.186

Respondents engaged in technical and organizational services of basic production are distinguished not only by the qualities we enumerated, the

existence of which allows us to classify this worker category in the frontranking detachment of the labor collective. Other important features of such workers (cadre workers in particular) are independent judgments, stability of outlook and inner convictions. That is why the organizational separation of this unit from basic production subdivisions is unjustified.

The reasons for the choice of a profession and satisfaction with the various aspects of the job are largely determined by the specific nature of the latter. Thus, possibilities of displaying creativity and variety of functions attracted 48-52 percent of the respondents engaged in repair, repair-construction services and technical preparations for production, and 34.5 percent of quality controllers; normal labor intensiveness and working conditions drew 35-50 percent of personnel in charge of control, power supplies and material and technical procurements, more than 60 percent of the workers in janitorial services and 92 percent of the personnel in hygiene. Many types of work (loader, packaging worker, container washer, etc.) are chosen randomly, as indicated by 37-55 percent of the workers.

More than 60 percent of the respondents performing all functions other than repair-construction work and intraplant freight hauling, expressed full satisfaction with the rhythmical nature of their work. The highest percentage of people with an adverse rating of this aspect of labor organization (10-20 percent) was found among those working in power supplies, hauling and procuring packaging materials, and equipment repairs. The share of those fully satisfied with the work-shift system was higher than 70 percent. Negative ratings (10-18 percent) were found essentially in groups engaged in repairs, hauling and power supply. Said data may be used as a guideline in drafting the corresponding sections of the plan for the social development of the labor collective.

We already noted that at the enterprises we studied replacing junior servicing personnel as the result of the retirement of women with a low educational level is quite difficult. The same situation develops in other sectors. In particular, major problems arise in the need to replace workers engaged in cleaning the equipment, construction repairs, packaging, freight transportation, janitorial services and manufacturing of nonstandard equipment. The minimal educational level required for the performance of specific functions would enable us to streamline cadre deployment. Currently no such regulation exists. For example, among those who work in power supplies we find all "levels" of education (from primary to unfinished higher); the breakdown here is virtually the same as that of the collective as a whole.

The features of the work of auxiliary workers (uneven employment, multiple functions, high level of production independence) open extensive opportunities for combining skills and organizational and performing activities. However, actually no more than 26.2 percent of the respondents combined skills; another 12.6 percent have mastered a second skill rarely required in their work section. Only 34.4 percent of the respondents were familiar with and applying advanced experience acquired in their professional area and 50.6 percent had no such knowledge. All of this is due essentially to shortcomings in cadre training. Training of 85 percent of the respondents consisted of a short-term

study of a single skill; about 70 percent of PTU graduates proved to be unprepared to work in related skills; nor had they mastered the skills of production organization. More than one half of the respondents had been given no opportunity to upgrade their skills over the past 5 years, and only 1.4 percent had attended full-time courses.

The study indicated that frequently the auxiliary workers had no clear concept of their further development. Frequently, they were rated only on the basis of the technical specifications of their service area regardless of attitude toward labor and work quality. Thus, the grade of a boiler operator depends only on the overall heat productivity of the boiler (gigacalories per hour). Individual skills, which are manifested in the precise observance of technological regulations and suggestions on perfecting the organization of labor and production (submitted by 11 percent of the respondents) are virtually ignored.

Another problem related to the correlation between skill and job is the exact opposite of the one we mentioned. This applies essentially to young workers aged 20-29. Nearly one quarter of them are graduates of technical schools and VUZs. However, by no means is every one of them able to apply his knowledge to a greater or lesser extent. The skills of 26 percent of technical school graduates are superior than those needed for most operations at their specific workplace. Quite relevant in this category of workers would be specific training in methods of technical creativity. In general, the connection between training and skills of auxiliary workers ($S = 0.455$) is much closer than among basic workers. The study revealed different correlations between satisfaction with labor and education. As a whole, the former indicator drops with better training from 4.2 to 3.6 (based on a 5-point scale). This is seen particularly clearly in assessments of hygienic and overall working conditions, the level of labor mechanization, relations in the collective and the wage system, in which the maximal rating was noted among workers with a 1-4 and 5-6 grade education, and the minimal, among specialists with secondary training and workers with unfinished higher training. Satisfaction with wages drops as the training level increases from 4.2 to 2.8. Particular attention should be paid to the minimal satisfaction of workers with secondary specialized training--a very important and promising group of auxiliary personnel--with the level of labor mechanization, the possibility of applying their knowledge, the wage system and general and hygienic conditions.

The adaptation time needed by most categories of auxiliary workers is quite lengthy, for the range of their social contacts is broad and they greatly depend on relations with procurement workers, the administration and the main brigades. For this reason, grounds for turnover here are specific. In the course of the study we computed the coefficients of the potential turnover (the correlation between the number of workers who manifested in the course of the past year the desire to change jobs and the overall number of surveyed workers) and the potential stability (the correlation between the number of workers who had no desire to change jobs during the previous year or at the present time and the overall number of workers included in the investigation). Table 3 shows the link between these coefficients and the labor potential indicators and attitudes toward labor and satisfaction with its organization.

Table 3

Link between Potential Cadre Turnover and Indicators of the Labor Potential,
Attitude toward Labor and Satisfaction with its Organization

Indicators	Coefficients	
	Pierson (S)	Chuprov (K)
Labor Potential		
Total labor seniority	0.390	0.206
Seniority at given enterprise	0.352	0.183
Seniority in the given skill	0.349	0.181
Age	0.320	0.164
Type of vocational training	0.312	0.160
Education	0.301	0.143
Professional stability	0.183	0.107
Attitude toward Labor		
Satisfaction with the skill	0.398	0.250
Reason for the choice of profession	0.239	0.125
Value orientation	0.110	0.064
Satisfaction		
Increase in skill	0.319	0.194
Wage size	0.310	0.188
Relations within the collective	0.291	0.176
Level of mechanization	0.260	0.155
Work shifts	0.257	0.154
General working conditions	0.256	0.153

There is a very close correlation between the stability of the worker and his age. The share of workers who wanted to leave the enterprise was 23.2 percent for the 20-29-year age group; 17 percent for the 30-39-year age group; 8.1 percent for the 40-49-year age group and 1.1 percent for the 50-54-year age group. Correspondingly, the potential stability of cadres in these age groups increased from 58.0 to 94 percent. Some of the respondents in the 20-29-year age group (10.4 percent) would like to change work sections within the same collective. Equally noteworthy is the increased mobility of workers aged 55-60 (the number of people desirous of changing enterprises and shops among them was triple that of the other age groups). The apparent explanation is the wish to have a higher-paid job before retirement.

The connection between the level of training and cadre turnover is unquestionable. The share of those wishing to change jobs was 2.4 percent among workers with no more than sixth-grade education; 14-18 percent for workers with a seventh-ninth grade education; and 30 percent among workers with specialized and unfinished higher education. The coefficient of potential stability of cadres for these groups drops, respectively, from 0.93-0.06 to 0.60-0.65. The enterprise's administration should show particular

concern for offering optimal job choices to graduates of technical schools and employed students.

The study of the satisfaction with various aspects of the production situation, based on the length of work at the enterprise (table 4) confirms that the critical period here is the interval between the third and fifth year, when satisfaction with the work as a whole declines from 4.1 to 3.9. The lowest rating of the efficiency of the competition is noted among workers with seniority of less than 1 year (which proves that novices become involved in the competition after a great delay) and 3 to 5 years (3.5 and 3.6, respectively). The lowest rating of prospects for increased skills (3.3) is noted among those who have worked at the association between 1 and 5 years. As to satisfaction with relations within the collective, the indicator averages between 4.8 and 4.5 in the 5-10 year interval, after which it goes back to the initial figure.

Several critical stages could be singled out from the viewpoint of professional seniority as well. Among those who would like to leave the enterprise, the highest share is that of respondents who have worked between 1 and 3 years (12.9 percent) and 10 to 15 years (18.6 percent), i.e., during periods in which the process of the primary and definitive professional adaptations take place. The highest percentage of those who intend to change their work sector or skill (37.1 percent) was among respondents with a 3-5-year seniority. It is precisely here that we notice minimal stability (51.4 percent); it reaches its highest level (91 percent) among those who have practiced their skill for over 20 years.

Since the potential and actual turnover at the studied enterprises was roughly identical (17-19 percent) we deemed it expedient to make a factorial study of cadre turnover on the basis of information concerning potential stability. Let us consider the correlation of the latter within the group of respondents who gave maximal and minimal ratings of satisfaction with the various aspects of their work. This correlation enables us to determine the influence of a given factor on the overall level of cadre turnover.

First among the most significant factors of the six we selected (at total of fourteen were singled out) in terms of degree of influence is satisfaction with one's profession. Stability among those totally satisfied equals 91.2 percent; it is 35 percent among those not satisfied (a 2.6:1 ratio). In the second group 40 percent of the respondents would like to change enterprises; 20 percent would like to change skills and only 5 percent would be satisfied with transfer to another section.

Next most important are relations with the administration and the members of the collective. Here the stability coefficients of the extreme groups are in a correlation of 2.1:1 (86 and 40 percent) and 40 percent of those dissatisfied intend to leave the enterprise; 13.3 percent are prepared to learn another skill and 6.7 percent would like to work in a different section.

Table 4

Average Rating of Satisfaction With Labor Based on Work Seniority at the
Enterprise, 5-Point Rating System

Satisfaction Indicators	Length of Work at the Enterprise, years						
	under 1	1-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	over 20
Nature of Labor	4.1	3.9	3.7	3.7	4.1	4.2	3.9
work in a given skill	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.3	4.5	4.7	4.9
level of mechanization	3.7	3.4	3.3	3.1	3.6	3.7	3.2
Labor Organization	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.3	4.3
organization of upgrading skill	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.7	3.5	4.1	3.8
wage conditions	4.3	4.2	4.1	3.9	4.1	4.4	4.5
wage level	4.0	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.8	4.3	4.2
Social Labor Conditions							
form of material incentive	4.2	4.2	4.5	3.9	4.4	4.4	4.6
competition efficiency	3.5	4.0	3.6	4.6	3.8	4.1	4.3
relations in the collective	4.8	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.8	4.7	4.8
general satisfaction with work	4.1	4.1	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.3	4.3

This is followed by the work shift system (a correlation of 2:1, 83 percent and 42.3 percent). The influence of this factor is manifested mostly in the desire to transfer to another section within the same enterprise (26.9 percent). Correspondingly, 19.2 and 11.5 percent of the "dissatisfied" expressed the desire to resign or change skills.

The consolidation of cadres greatly depends on prospects for growth and skill improvements. Those who are fully satisfied with existing conditions to this effect and who intend to remain in their old jobs account for 90.2 percent, and for 53.2 percent among those who have no such opportunity (a correlation of 1.8:1). However, here as well 11.3 percent of the respondents believe that in order to obtain real promotion opportunities, it would suffice to change sections within the enterprise. The artificial prevention of transfers from one shop to another is as harmful as the disorderly luring of the best workers from neighboring sections.

Our data show that the efficient system of moral incentives is even somewhat more influential in terms of cadre stability than the size of the wage. In the first case, the correlation between the coefficients of stability in the extreme groups was 1.6:1 (87.1 and 54.9 percent); it was 1.4:1 (94.8 and 67.4 percent) in the second. In this case, as viewed by 25.5 percent of the respondents, they could obtain a more equitable moral reward for their labor by transferring to another primary labor collective within the same enterprise; 20 percent intend to leave or else to look for a better paid job. Such data prove once again that a number of levers for influencing cadre dynamics even within an industrial sector such as the food industry, where

earnings are relatively low, are in the hands of the collective and are unrelated to the allocation of additional funds.

Finally, the list of the most significant stabilization factors ends with satisfaction with the level of production mechanization and general labor conditions. The correlation between stability coefficients in the extreme groups was, in both cases, 1.3:1 (92.6 and 73.2 percent; 90.3 and 69.8 percent). The following circumstance is noteworthy: more than 20 percent of the workers dissatisfied with these aspects of their job would like to change enterprise and skill, for they do not hope for any substantial positive changes in the technical standards of auxiliary production in any part of the association.

The study of this information brought to light quite alarming trends. Auxiliary workers frequently find themselves in a less favorable situation compared with their colleagues in the basic shops. This applies to the size of bonuses, the stipulated number of prize-earning ratings based on the results of the socialist competition and to a number of benefits. The workers are not satisfied with the way the labor incentive system is organized in their subdivisions (because of the absence of corresponding standards that share of bonuses in the overall incentive structure in the auxiliary shops is lower than in basic shops), and promotion possibilities. Great dissatisfaction is expressed concerning the administration which, in the view of the respondents, does not adequately contribute to enhancing the prestige of auxiliary personnel in the labor collective. The system of moral rewards for conscientious labor leaves something better to be desired. Major shortcomings have been noted in the summation of results and in determining and rewarding competition winners. Naturally, not all types of work and not all the functions performed by the contingent under study are of equal importance and not everywhere are high skills required (although, as we already pointed out, many auxiliary workers perform complex operations; however, reward criteria and assessments must be stipulated for each individual skill.

Grade ratings create many problems. For example, the virtual exclusion from the wage rate of operations such as technological preparations, janitorial services, cleaning and material and technical supplies, lowers interest in combining skills, broadening areas of services, etc. A number of operations are classified into no more than two or three grades, which leads to equalization in wages.

The brigade organization of labor is the base in solving a number of social problems specific to the auxiliary personnel. Wherever this method is applied extensive opportunities appear for combining skills, alternating physical work with operating machinery, and taking into consideration individual capabilities in assignments. Under these conditions, the interests of the entire brigade in the fastest possible adaptation of the young members of the collective intensifies as well. Compared with respondents working individually, the percentage of those who intend to leave the enterprise is lower by a factor of 5 among workers working in brigades, and by a factor of 7.2 among those earning up to 120 rubles monthly. Therefore, the advantages are obvious. However, we must acknowledge that the majority of auxiliary

workers in the food industry (70-80 percent) are still working individually. Small specialized brigades have not enjoyed the benefits of the collective forms of labor organization. Administrations do not always help to create permanent brigades, for they prefer to use auxiliary workers as a reserve for periods of "rushing" at basic production facilities, for agricultural operations, etc. We know that only comprehensive and self-governing brigades are efficient. However, increasing the rights and responsibilities of the collective is admissible only after the end results of its activities have been made consistent with the objectives of the enterprises.

Workers engaged in providing technical and organizational services, and part of the junior servicing personnel are members of the consolidated basic production brigades, while the others set up independent brigades within the centralized services responsible for specific functions. The coefficient of technical accuracy of the equipment, rather than the amount of work done, becomes the criterion in assessing the work of the repair brigades.

Our study leads to a number of conclusions. We must abandon the current practice of classifying workers into basic and auxiliary and the centralized planning of this correlation. A consolidated record of cadre structure based on identical types of socioprofessional groups must be applied at the enterprises.

It would be expedient in structuring the collective organization of labor to single out two types of comprehensive self-governing brigades: those producing finished items at the enterprise (including workers engaged in tuning, fitting and running the equipment) and production services (equipment repairs, power supplies, material procurements, etc.). In the latter case it is necessary to centralize the corresponding functions within the framework of the enterprise, in which responsibility for the condition of the equipment, power supplies and supplying materials to the workplace is assigned respectively to the departments of the chief mechanic, power and material and technical supplies, and not to chiefs of shops, foremen, etc. The wages of auxiliary workers must be based not on the volume of work (hauling freights, frequency of equipment repairs, etc.) or the number of work shifts but on the basis of output (in first-type brigades) or the steady support of the production process, based on corresponding standards.

The system of training and upgrading the skills of auxiliary workers must be oriented toward training specialists in three or four different skills and promoting skills for organizing the production process and establishing social intercourse. Special records must be kept and studies made of the levels of potential turnover among the various groups of auxiliary personnel and their social development and professional retraining must be planned on a differentiated basis.

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HOUSING AND PRODUCTION COMPLEXES: CORRELATION, INTERCONNECTION, OPTIMIZATION

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[Text] In recent years there has been a significant shifting of emphasis in the familiar "production-population-settlement" formula (1, p 56). Whereas the initial period in production development was paralleled by faith in the unlimited possibilities of technology (it is no accident that industrial projects were given, as a rule, the best location in the city), in the second half of our century man began to separate the production process from his residential environment by setting up protective sanitary areas. Industrial projects were concentrated in relatively separate areas, which led to major ecological losses and the inefficient use of time and energy in intra-urban transportation. In the postwar period the psychological makeup of the urban resident, who freely chooses his place of residence and job, has substantially changed against the background of the tempestuous development of industrial production and housing. Today, in developing new territories in long-range urban construction and solving problems of the location of production facilities and residences, increasingly designers are turning to the central element in the formula--the population. The interest of the population largely determines the program in drafting the general plan.

The areas of the studied items were analyzed in the course of our sociological study (conducted by the department of architecture of the MISI imeni V.V. Kuybyshev, in coordination with the Moscow Oblast Executive Committee and the Moscow Oblast GlavAPU, in 1982) in terms of time outlays for transportation within the city and, on their basis, the nature of the residents was described in terms of their jobs. The study was conducted in two cities in Moscow Oblast--Klin and Dmitrov--applying the method of surveys based on representative selections. The location of the respondents was indicated in the computed squares (0.5 kilometers by 0.5 kilometers), into which the urban map was divided.

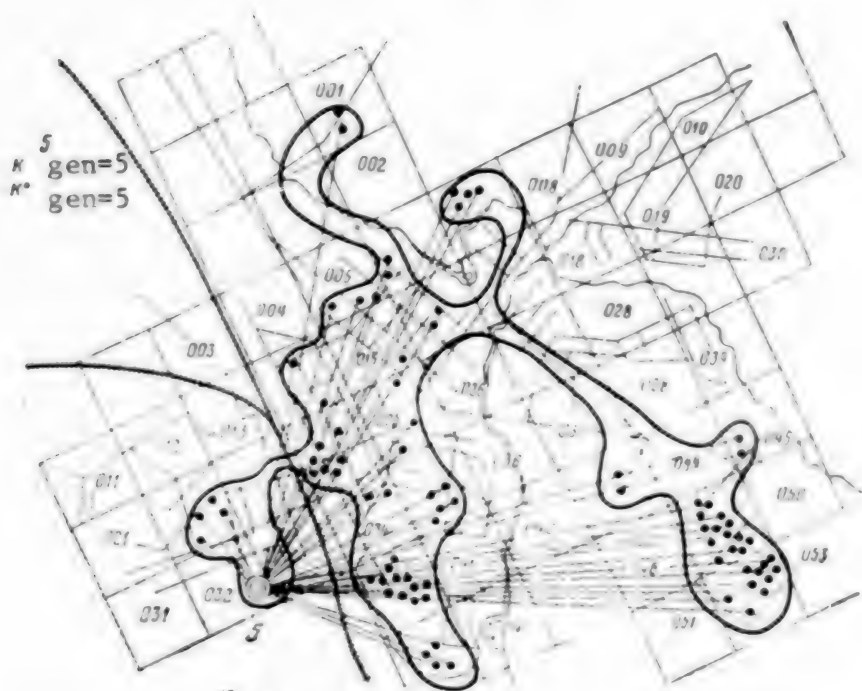
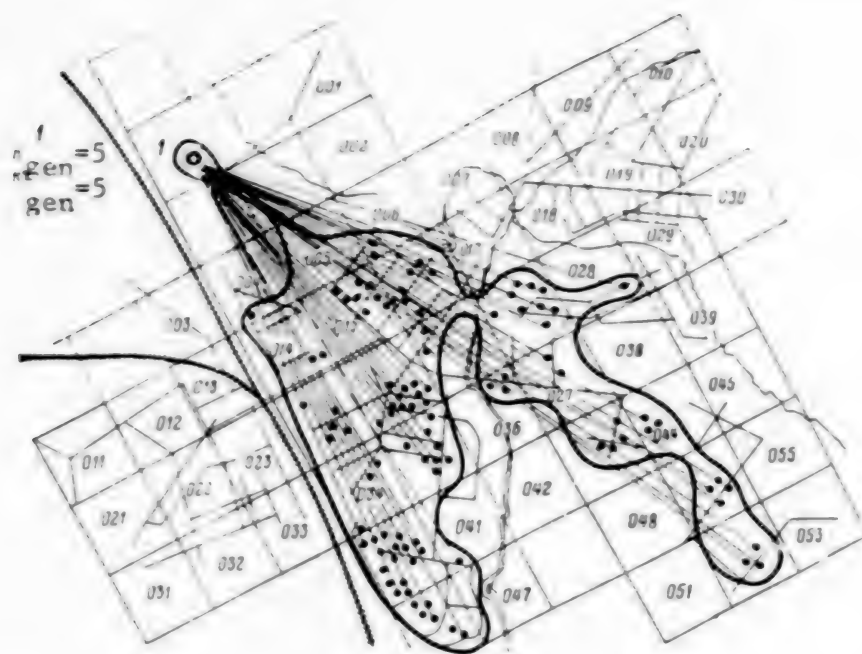
The data obtained as a result of the processed information were used to establish gravitational areas for each of the enterprises we studied (figures

1 and 2). We determined, for example, that 60 percent of the workers employed at the Ribbons Weaving Factory (Klin) lose an average of 35 to 40 minutes in commuting and that the site chosen for the construction of a brewery is inconsistent with accessibility requirements, for more than 45 percent of the people employed here need between 40 and 50 minutes of travel to reach their place of work. The study indicated that 83.4 percent of the respondents use public transportation and that 11.9 of them spend in excess of 40 minutes in commuting time.

In order to define the main factors in the choice of a place of work, the respondents were classified into groups based on age, sex, education and family status. The figures show some of the results of the processed data.

Data on time spent in commuting to work for the city at large confirmed the exponential nature of settlements, according to which the number of people wishing to work at said enterprises diminishes with the increased time (distance). Figures 1 and 2 indicate the anomalies of this correlation, confirming the unsuitable choice of the site for the location of these enterprises. Therefore, the time outlays are the indicator with the help of which one could describe the nature of the settlement and the laws governing the choice of places of work. Incidentally, the time criterion has been studied better than others in sociological (1) and urban construction studies (2, 3), and all theoretical hypotheses of settlement in terms of the area of employment are structured precisely on the basis of this indicator. In order to solve the problem in which the time criterion is determining and, in particular, in terms of the location of ecologically harmless industrial enterprises, a mathematical optimizing model was created. The data obtained as a result of our study were included in the model as basic information and successfully applied in solving the problems of the general plan of the city of Klin (1984).

Indeed, time is a universal measure which characterizes the activities of the individual and society. It is the most stable factor in determining the behavior of the urban resident in his choice of the objects of his travels, ranging from the place of his job to service enterprises. In this connection, time acts like an interest rate, as a permanent value which man has at his disposal and, based on his level of education, age, sex and family status, is ready to correlate with other factors. On this basis a simple model was drawn up of the person's choice of his job depending on three most important factors: time outlays, nature of the job and wage. The hypothesis of the study (the existence of a close link among said factors, in which time is an indicator for the selection of the place of work of the different social groups) was the base of a new criterion: the social quality of urban construction. It shows the level of satisfaction of the urban resident (or the social group) with the quality of his job at a given enterprise. This criterion of the variant of the urban planning may be presented as the formula $S = B_{i,j,p} * N_{i,j,p} \rightarrow \max$, in which $B_{i,j,p}$ is the percentage of working people of residential district i , p is the social group satisfied with a job at enterprise j ; $N_{i,j,p}$ is the number of workers of residential district i belonging to social group p , employed at enterprise j .



Figures 1 and 2

Nature of population distribution in the target areas (Fig. 1: Ribbon Weaving Factory; Fig. 2: Brewery)

The basic module of the algorithm includes a consideration of the quality of the jobs and a structure of a scale of preferences in selecting the place of work (point ratings for each enterprise j with K -quality jobs with time outlays t from i housing center to enterprise j). The number of points represents the percentage of respondents who are willing to spend time t or more to hold a K -quality job. Such data enable us to structure for each residential center i a scale of declining preference for work at any given enterprise. The closer it is to the head of the list, the more attractive the work at said enterprise becomes.

The suggested model offers settlement alternatives with the distribution of the active population by place of employment. It indicates the average commuting time and the satisfaction with the choice of the place of work through the social quality indicator. It is based on establishing the correlation among parameters R (or t), which stands for distance (or time); S is the wage and I is the content (interesting nature) of the work. Since no direct correlation exists among these variables, the function is presented as a table, the data of which are based on the results of empirical studies.

In order to obtain such data we made another survey in the course of which we studied the behavior of the individual in a specific urban construction environment. To this effect we selected cities with a stable number of industrial projects and, consequently, permanent labor resources within the city itself and in the surrounding settlements (the survey was conducted in two cities of the Georgian SSR, two in the Ukrainian SSR and one in the RSFSR; it was made by personnel at the architecture department of the MISI imeni V.V. Kuybyshev and architect B.A. Berishvili). The size of the population (200,000 - 400,000), and ethnic and climatic factors varied. The selection included industrial enterprises regardless of sanitation rating but located in different parts of the city. The unit of observation consisted of homogeneous social groups of the able-bodied population, classified in terms of the content and social evaluation of labor--wage, level of education and social prestige. Each factor was given two ratings and consisted of four quality categories. The criterion of "interesting" or "not interesting" work was based in accordance with the classification of jobs by complexity and social functions of labor. It was presumed that within the groups the quality of labor changes, for example, in connection with the enhanced level of skill, education, etc. This approach enables us to systematize vacancies in terms of labor content: first category: interesting and well-paid work; second category: interesting work only; third category: well-paid work only; fourth category: poorly paid work. Remembering that highly paid work is not always interesting (such as work harmful to the health, underground, hard) we classified it in the third category. In the survey the questions were formulated in such a way that the respondent could express his own view of interesting work; the scale included the time which he was willing to spend commuting (the accuracy of said data was tested on the basis of the Kolmogorov criterion. The value of the criterion must meet the requirement $[\leq 0.52]$. The condition which defines the accuracy is $[\max[F(x) - F(x)] * n \leq 0.52]$ (2), in which n is the extent of the selection and $F(x)$ is the percentage of empirical values. We studied five cities. The volume of the selection totaled 12,000. The results of the processing of the information for each social group is presented in the form of a diagram (figures 4, 5)).

At the same time, the number of actual vacancies for which a person is prepared to "pay" out of his time budget was also classified into four categories. We accepted the possibility of a certain disparity in the evaluations of the respondent and the researcher. In practice, however, there were no significant disparities in ratings as for example in interpreting the concept of "quality of job vacancy." First of all, the real choice of the urban resident has a limited number of alternatives; secondly, there is a certain generally accepted interpretation of the concept of quality, the mass stereotype of which consists of the sum total of individual evaluations. Therefore, even if the latter do not coincide with the social evaluations the disparity is insignificant.

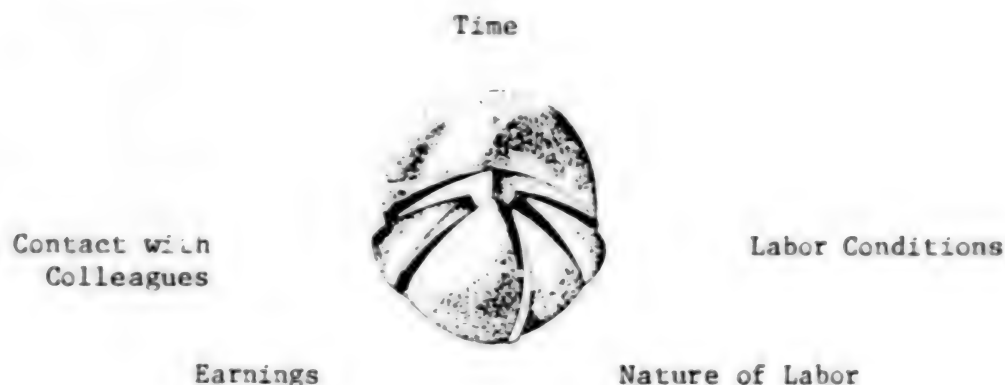


Figure 3

Main condition for the choice of job (based on a survey of the population of Klin): commuting time (42 percent), earnings (27 percent), nature of labor (18 percent), contacts with colleagues (8 percent), other (5 percent).

In the course of the study the frequency breakdowns were recomputed into special accumulated frequency breakdowns (F_1, F_2, F_3, F_4) through cumulative totaling and, subsequently, for purposes of convenient comparisons, transformed into special distributions P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4 . Unlike the traditional method, this method is more convenient, for the special distribution of the totaled frequencies is more suitable for plotting a curve.

The distribution P_1 was expressed in a plotted curve whose analytical expression is: $P_1(t_i) = 100 \cdot e^{\frac{-t_i^a}{b}}$ in which $P_1(t_i)$ is the added frequency from the longest commuting time to the t_i under consideration (for first type jobs in percent), corresponding to the percentage of working people within this social group who had chosen first type work and were willing to spend the time t_i or longer; a and b are the parameters of the equalizing curve.

The insignificant disparities of $P_1(t_i)$ and the distribution, equalized according to formula (3) was tested on the basis of the X-square and adopted on the level of the value for $\alpha = 0.70$.

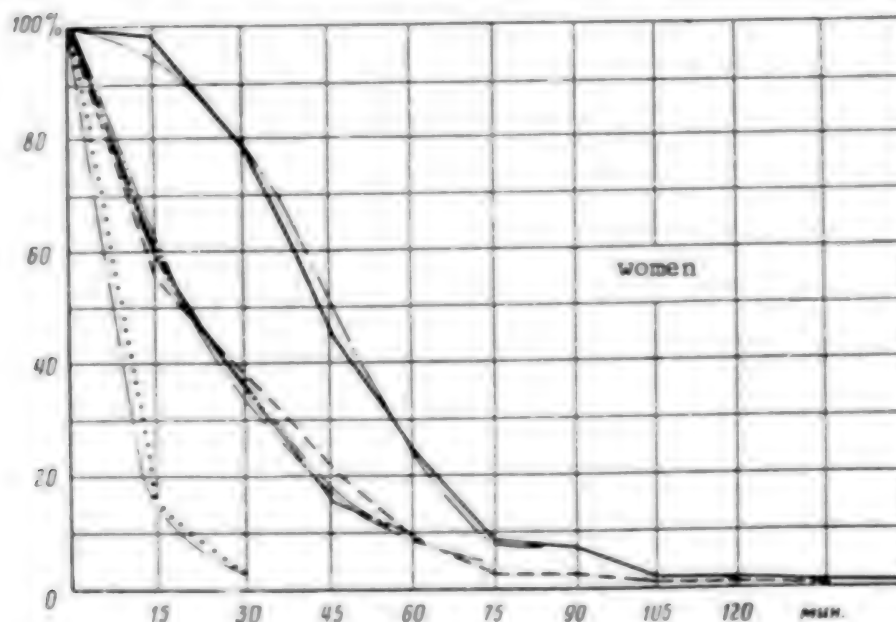
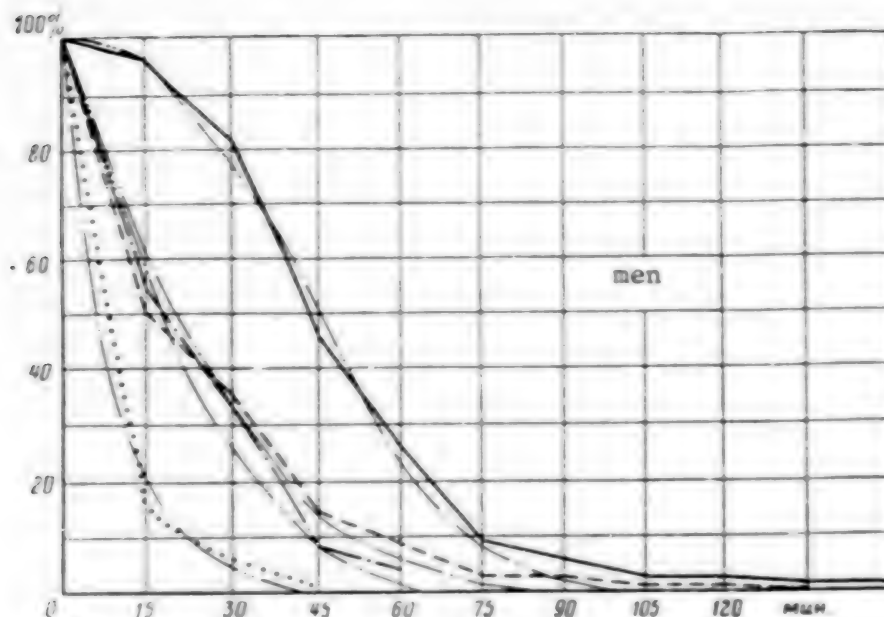
The distribution $P_2(t_i)$, $P_3(t_i)$, $P_4(t_i)$ (for works $j = 2, 3, 4$) are equated with curves whose overall analytical expression is $P_j(t_i) = 100 * e^{C_j t_i + d_j t_i^2}$, (4), in which C_j , d_j are the parameters of the equalizing curve (formulas 3 and 4 were based on empirical data using the least squares method).

The study of the results for all the cities indicates that work of the first type may be presented for all social groups with a curve substantially different from those for works of the second and third types (as confirmed by a comparison between formulas 3 and 4). Characteristically, 50 percent of the working people of all social groups are prepared to spend up to 45 minutes for jobs of the first type. The distribution curve for the choice of first type work is the same for all social groups and is expressed with a general formula.

In the majority of cases the attitude toward works of the second and third type was the same. The distribution curves for all cities coincide within the 0 - 30 minute time interval and could be described with a single formula; they show more significant differences for the 30 - 60 minute interval. With an increase in time outlays, 10 percent or less urban residents chose work of the second type, and 15-20 percent chose work of the third type i.e., there is greater demand not for more interesting but for better paid work. As the educational level rises there is preference for work of the second compared to the third type within the 15-30-minute time interval (figures 4 and 5).

This confirms the hypothesis of the importance of the time criterion in the selection of working conditions. Thus, the time outlay indicators can indicate the value of the other parameters of the selection, expressing satisfaction with the work situation.

The diagrams of the distribution of those desirous of obtaining work of the k quality within the time interval t , or the distribution curves plotted for each social group, are included in a model as initial data. The distributions on the diagrams are a stable trend for the given city, characterizing conditions governing the choice of work of k quality for time t noted on the scale (the extent to which the patterns of one city could be applied to another in a question to be investigated separately). In developing new construction areas, our model included social indicators (for example, 50 percent of men with higher education are willing to spend no more than 45 minutes for commuting to first type work), obtained in the course of the study (figures 4, 5). After determining the possibility for the expansion of the city in terms of the development of production facilities and housing (the quantity and quality of job openings, volumes of housing construction and choices of construction areas, population size and patterns of settlements), we can undertake the practical solution of urban construction problems. The optimal variant is chosen on the basis of the indicator of the social quality of the planned variant S as a whole and separately for members of each social group. Thus, the solution of the problem in the case of the cities we studied was based on ten alternatives of groups for the nine possible districts for future residential building relative to the two largest industrial areas of the city. The best variant of the indicator S in our case was, for two cities, correspondingly 77.3 and 81.3 percent (figures 4, 5), interpreted as a



Figures 4 and 5

Attitude toward work of the specified type by men and women with higher training, based on the length of commuting time, percent*

* The respondent noted that length of time he was prepared to spend in commuting for a job of a specific type. The types of work were indicated as follows: interesting and well-paid (-); interesting (.-.); well-paid (--); poorly paid and not interesting (....); theoretical smoothed curve (..-..). ten percent of urban residents chose work of the second type with increased time outlays; 15 to 20 percent chose work of the third type, i.e., there is growing demand not for interesting but for well-paid work. As the educational level increases, predominance is given to works of the second compared to the third type within the 15 - 30 minute interval (figures 4-5).

percentage of the working people willing to spend up to 35 minutes for commuting to first-type jobs and up to 20 minutes for second and third type. At the same time, we computed the average commuting time for each variant and the number of applicants for job openings of a certain quality.

The practical significance of this approach in terms of perfecting social planning has a number of uses. Its application could release huge reserves of time for the working people by reducing commuting time and easing the load of the transportation system. Above all, it could contribute to the efficient "social employment" of the urban population, for it would make it possible to establish a correlation between job vacancies and professional qualities of the active population. On this basis we could combine the purposes of the general urban plan with the individual needs of the urban population.

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FATHERS AND SONS

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Viktor Alekseyevich Sysenko, senior scientific associate, the Center for the Study of Population Problems, Moscow State University Department of Economics. Specialist in family sociology. Author of the monographs "Ustoychivost Braka" [Stability of Marriage] (1981) and "Supruzheskiye Konflikty" [Marital Conflicts] (1983). Author of the article "Divorces: Dynamics, Reasons, Consequences" published in this journal (No 2, 1982)]

[Text] In terms of the contemporary family, the dilemma presented in the title of this article, naturally, is not so dramatic as in I.S. Turgenev's novel with the same title. Nevertheless, this formulation of the matter has certain reasons, for relations between the parental and the young family are exceptionally complex. The "mother-in-law--son-in-law" and "mother-in-law and daughter-in-law" problems are by no means inventions of humorists. Many are the underwater rocks here, and sociologists have invested a great deal of effort in charting them.

Empirical studies, above all those conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI in 1972-1979, proved that whatever area we may consider--relations among spouses, structure and composition of the family, reproductive concepts, division of labor in the family and the status of women, type of leadership, way of life and relaxation--we inevitably come across the dichotomy of "fathers and children," and the problem of cooperation between generations (1). Conflicts between spouses based on the interference of seniors in family affairs and, as a result, the development of a tense relation with parents have become the talk of the town (according to I.Yu. Rodzinskaya, this occurs in 28 percent of young families (2)). Nevertheless, studies indicate that in this case it is not only the parents alone who are to be blamed. Thus, the frequency of quarrels is virtually independent of whether or not the newly married live together with the parents or separately. The following fact as well is noteworthy: one frequently hears in youth circles discussions on the need to live separately. However, as a rule, the young spouses quite willingly accept the help of parents and, furthermore, count on it. According to the results of a study conducted in Leningrad, "virtually all women who

expressed their intention of increasing the number of children linked this to the help of their senior relatives" (3).

These and other studies prove that the supports of parents and relatives is a most important prerequisite for the normal functioning of the young family. Ordinary stereotypes notwithstanding, the role of the parental family in maintaining the stability of a marriage is much more significant than the price paid for "interference" by the old in relations between young spouses: the share of stable marriages of couples living together with their parents is 11 percent higher than of "independent" families (2).

Briefly, the conducted studies lead to the following conclusion: in itself, support of young spouses by parents is a benefit. It is unquestionably necessary. However, its efficiency significantly depends on the life stance of those who marry, and on their views concerning the possible ways in which their elders could help them. In turn, the position of the young spouses is determined by the type of preparations for marriage they have received in the parental family. This applies not only to moral and psychological qualities and experience gained of relations between parents and children but also domestic skills, and the ability to create an atmosphere of spiritual closeness. We shall try to consider this set of problems on the basis of new empirical data. The study was conducted by the Center for the Study of Population Problems at the department of economics of Moscow State University, headed by the author of this article. A total of 401 young couples, who had submitted for the first time petitions for marriage, were surveyed at Moscow Marriage Palace Number 4. The average age was 23 for the grooms, and 22 for the brides. They answered the questions separately. The questions applied only to internal relations and not the interconnection between the family and a wider range of problems of social life.

Some of the questions asked of the respondents were the following: "Do you take as a model the way of life of your parents?" "Could you rate the general atmosphere prevailing in your family and the interrelationship among its members?" Relations between father and mother were considered bad or very bad by 8.7 percent of grooms and 0.7 percent of brides. Respectively, 15.7 and 14.8 percent rated them satisfactory. As to the positive ratings, their predominance should be approached somewhat cautiously. The point is that cultural and historical traditions and social standards demand at least a superficially respectful attitude toward parents. In our view, some of the newly married upgraded their assessment and many deemed it tactless to give a negative rating, for which reason they avoided to answer (13.2 percent of grooms and 10 percent of brides). The fact that the ratings were not always coincidental with the real relations between parents and children is confirmed by a comparison with answers to other questions in the survey (a special study of the assessment of their parents' families by the newlywed has been undertaken by Ye.G. Yakovenko (4).

Table 1

Answers to the Question of Living with Parents
(A—grooms; B—brides), %

Would like to live with parents	Period of Family Life							
	after the marriage		after birth of the first child		by the time the child is 3		by the time the child starts school	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
In the same apartment	18.7	13.5	22.0	21.2	8.7	6.5	7.2	6.5
In the same house	11.2	12.2	18.7	22.9	13.0	17.5	12.2	16.0
In the same microregion	28.2	36.9	32.9	35.7	42.6	49.1	40.7	45.6
As far as possible	28.4	25.7	17.0	12.7	20.7	16.2	23.2	21.0
Hard to say	12.7	11.2	8.0	7.2	13.2	10.0	15.2	9.7
Did not answer	0.8	0.5	1.4	0.3	1.8	0.7	1.5	1.2

In the course of the investigation the "closeness" to the parents that the spouses would like to be in different stages of the family cycle was determined as well. The results enable us to judge to a certain extent of the attitude of the future spouses to the parental family. Let us begin, however, by considering the preferences of the respondents concerning the place of residence (see table 1).

After the birth of the first child 22.0 percent of the grooms and 21.2 percent of the brides would like to live with the parents. Without denying the entire complexity of this period, let us note that, obviously, the respondents underestimate the problems which arise as the children grow up. Such matters seem to the newlywed quite remote and, therefore, irrelevant. Let us draw attention to yet another circumstance: the intention to live with the parents is expressed more frequently by the grooms than the brides for reasons of upbringing and child care (although it is the brides who assume a particularly heavy burden with the birth of the child). The impression is created that it is precisely the brides who aspire to autonomy and independence.

But let us go on. For one reason or another, 44 percent of the surveyed couples will live with the parents. This wish, however, was expressed by only 18.7 percent of the grooms and 13.5 percent of the brides. Furthermore, a significant number of respondents believed, in general, that one should live as far from the parents as possible. From the sociopsychological viewpoint this indicates poor relations between some parents and their grown-up children.

The data which were obtained lead to the conclusion that three basic types of attitudes toward the parental family exist. The first is when it is a model (42 percent of respondents). The second is expressed in the intention to organize one's marriage differently compared to the parents (a negative attitude toward the parental family as a model). The young people with

conflicting feelings--positive as well as negative--are the third, the intermediary type.

The percentage of newlywed who believe that it is better for the young family to live "as far from the parents as possible" (in our view, the most suitable information on the orientation toward the parental family is found in the answer to the following question: "Where should the young family live after the marriage?" The remaining three questions perform control functions in this case), clearly would like to avoid any kind of supervision on the part of their elders and, obviously, fears their interference in family life (only the prospect of a child lowers the number of "irreconcilable" and "firm" answers). All of this could be considered as proof of a negative orientation toward the parental family. What does it indicate? All we can do at this point is express the hypothesis that, obviously, in the past there had been a harsh and strict behavior toward children, despotism on the part of the parents and restrictions of independence without any profound resulting hurt.

Going back to the question of the parental family as a model, let us note that despite the high percentage of "good" and "excellent" ratings of relations between parents and children, such relations are by no means ideal in the case of 25 percent of the parental families. Naturally, it would be difficult to determine subsequent relations with the newlywed. What is clear, however, is that one could hardly expect in this case close contacts with the parental family and the benefit of its experience. In all likelihood, the newlywed will act contrary to that experience.

The next type (the first in our own classification) includes those who believe that the young family should best live within the same apartment or the same house as the parents. The assumption is that in this case a reciprocal understanding and good harmony exists between them. This group accounts for 35-40 percent of the total.

We described the third type as marginal. To this group of young people, the parental family is both an object of attraction and of cautious attitude. It is equally a model and an anti-model. In our view, this includes essentially those who would like to live in the same microregion with the parents. This group accounts approximately for one third of the respondents.

The most frequently encountered type of help to the newlywed is the wedding gift, or paying for purchases of expensive items. Frequently the parents allocate regularly, almost monthly, a certain amount of money or else systematically pay for food purchases. It also happens for the parental families to "feed" the newlywed while all other expenditures are met by the young spouses by themselves, and so on.

But what do the newlywed themselves think of the parental aid? Two thirds of the grooms and brides firmly rely on material support and only one tenth do not (see table 2). A considerable percentage of young people failed to give a clear answer. Obviously, it is precisely such respondents who have poor relations with their parents; nor should we exclude the fact that the parents may not have the possibility of giving such aid.

Cooperation among generations is an age old law of human life. It is entirely natural for the young family to have money difficulties. A way of life is being organized and ever new needs arise. Also influential here is the poor experience in independent planning and efficient household management. In all such matters parental support is urgently needed. Essentially, it is a question of upgrading the young family's social ability to function. The consumer standards of the young people take shape above all in the parental family in which for a number of years there has been sufficiency. Occasionally, in setting up their own family, the young people would immediately like to attain the level of their previous well being, i.e., they enter into a marriage with higher aspirations. They are unable to limit their needs and do not wish to refuse themselves prestige, fashionable or expensive objects. The newlywed presume that the "gap" which will appear in their budget in this connection will be compensated with parental funds.

These studies lead to the idea that the help provided by the parental family is a kind of compensation for the inadequate preparedness of the children for forthcoming family life. Let us turn to the study. The survey included a number of questions aimed at determining the nature of talks between parents and the young people dealing with experience in family life. Each assertion was rated by the respondent on the basis of a 3-point system: the lower the rating, the more frequently the respondent discussed this topic with the mother or father; the points for each question were then summed up. The results appear in table 3.

Table 2 Possible Forms of Parental Aid to the Young Family
(A -- grooms; B -- brides), %

Type of aid and variants of answers	Respondent's Parents		Parents of Respondent's Spouse	
	A	B	A	B
Material Assistance				
Yes	65.8	67.0	57.1	37.7
No	13.0	10.0	9.0	9.2
Does not know	20.0	23.0	32.7	52.9
No answer	1.2		1.2	0.2
Help in Managing the Household				
Yes	59.4	56.4	53.9	34.7
No	21.0	21.7	19.2	21.5
Does not know	18.2	21.7	25.0	43.4
No answer	1.4	0.2	1.9	0.4
Help in Child Upbringing				
Yes	66.0	68.5	58.4	44.6
No	14.0	13.0	11.2	13.7
Does not know	18.7	18.5	28.9	40.7
No answer	1.3		1.5	1.0

Table 3

Communication Between Parents and Children on Problems of Family Life, rank

Topic	With the Mother		With the Father	
	groom	bride	groom	bride
How should a girl behave toward young people	6	2	7	7
How should a young man behave with girls	4	5	4	6
Stages of sexual maturing	9	8	9	8
Intimate relations	8	9	8	9
Efficient allocation of family budget	3	3	3	4
Family roles and obligations of men and women	2	1	2	2
Material support of the young family	1	4	1	1
Conflict situations in the families of friends, acquaintances and neighbors	5	7	6	5
Conflict situations between parents	7	6	5	3

Table 4

Views of Newlywed on the Participation of Family Members in Basic Types of Family Activities, %

Activity	Groom's Answers					Bride's Answers				
	Father	Mother	Father, Mother	Father, Mother, Children	No Answer	Father	Mother	Father, Mother	Father, Mother, Children	No Answer
Current purchases	6.2	44.8	28.3	11.7	9.0	3.5	51.8	22.3	15.7	6.7
Purchases of expensive objects	6.2	2.0	30.0	32.2	9.3	2.2	30.8	27.0	33.3	5.7
Summer recreation	4.5	14.5	23.8	46.5	10.7	1.7	14.8	25.5	50.0	8.0
Use of leisure time	4.7	11.8	22.5	49.5	11.5	2.2	15.5	25.3	49.0	8.0
Bringing up children	3.0	22.5	46.5	17.0	11.0	2.2	23.5	44.5	21.3	8.5

Mothers spend a great deal more time than fathers in the upbringing of their daughters. It is true that both spouses concentrate primarily on the economic aspect of family life. Ethical problems are discussed essentially between mother and daughter. Fathers address themselves more frequently to "conflict situations in the families of friends, acquaintances and neighbors." The discussion of such problems may have a double consequence. On the one hand, the children are exposed to the negative sides in the life of their parents and acquaintances, which is not always favorably reflected on their concepts of marriage and family; on the other, they show trust in the adolescent, interest in his views and help to shape in the young people a feeling of responsibility for the family and the ability to understand conflicts in family life.

A similar picture would appear if we analyze the answers of grooms (with the only difference that the range of topics is clearer and the frequency of their discussion with the mother and father virtually coincides). The first three places are held by economic problems. Obviously, the parents believe that they must above all educate the "breadwinner" of the family. As to the purely quantitative aspect of the matter, 85 percent of brides and 80 percent of grooms have never discussed problems of marriage and family with their fathers (with their mothers, respectively, 35 and 63 percent). Only 4 percent of the mothers are regularly consulted on problems of marriage and family relations. In almost 25 percent of the families the mother alone has dealt with the upbringing of the children; the father alone has dealt with this education in only 3 percent of all families.

The higher the educational level of the parents, the more frequently topics of marriage and family are discussed with children. It may be assumed that a high level of education implies the existence of skills and knowledge in education and the psychology of family-marital relations. Additional studies have indicated that the more stable the family is, the more intensively such problems are discussed.

In situations in which the senior generation pays insufficient attention to preparing the young people for marriage, the role of behavioral standards prevailing in the parental family increases in relations between the newlywed. In setting up the new family, a "reciprocal adaptation of family subcultures to which the husband and wife belong" takes place (5), since either spouse has his or her own idea of what is necessary and desirable in the role behavior of their own and their partner's.

In this connection, what could the parental family offer the newlywed? First of all, the leading role in solving family problems belongs to women (see table 4). The importance of the father's views is lesser. To a certain extent this is explained by the fact that under urban conditions the realm of application of male labor in the family has been reduced substantially and that the volume and nature of the woman's work at home has remained virtually unchanged. Secondly, parents rarely involve children in family activities. It is only when it becomes a question of the use of leisure time, summer holidays, and purchasing of expensive objects that the younger generation becomes somewhat active. As a whole, the participation of children in family affairs is clearly inadequate; the newlywed are therefore poorly prepared for

solving independently and responsibly the problems of their own family life. The importance of the parental family is particularly great in helping the future spouses to acquire the skills of daily life. The ability to manage the household, to make preparations and efficiently use funds are major factors in the stability of the young family, which substantially upgrade its "resistance" to life's difficulties. Unfortunately, many newlywed underestimate the role of managing the household in a marriage, and all because in the parental family they were free from the main household chores. Indicative in this respect are the answers to the question "who in your family does the following types of housework?" (followed by a list of 11 items); 12.5 percent of grooms and 5.3 percent of brides answered that they had no obligations whatsoever at home. All the listed types of work were done only by 5.5 percent of grooms and 3.2 percent of brides. Six and more types of work were performed, respectively, by 45 and 65.7 percent. Therefore, about 50 percent of the grooms and about 30 percent of the brides dealt with household chores only sporadically or else did not participate at all in household affairs. For that reason, in their future marital life, they are bound to encounter a great deal of daily life problems.

We tried to ascertain the extent to which the education standards of the parents influences the daily life training of young people. We were unable to establish a correlation.

The influence of the parental family on the future family life of their children is a complex research problem which requires special psychological methods, including the use of tests and sets of interrelated questions. Direct questions, such as those we considered, do not, as a rule, cover all the shadings of the situation, although they are of some cognitive value.

As to the results of the study as a whole, let us note the following: whatever the attitude of the "children" to the families of their "parents," may have been, the positive or negative experience in the parental family are of decisive significance to the newlywed. Let us not forget the fact that young men and women inherit from their parents not only their temperament and character, but also a style of behavior and intercourse, and types of responding reactions. Here the laws of social legacy operate. That is why in marriages in which the spouses are the product of troubled families, the risk of divorce will be greater. Furthermore, a system of steps taken to prepare young people for marriage and strengthening the young family must be mandatorily oriented toward the parents. We are confident that in terms of family stabilization, this is not a tactical but a strategic problem.

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FACTS, COMMENTS, NOTES (FROM THE SOCIOLOGIST'S DESK)

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE PRODUCTION SITUATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86 (signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 122-124

[Article by Stanislav Petrovich Goryunov, candidate of historical sciences, chairman of the North Caucasian Department, Soviet Sociological Association. Author of the following articles published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA: "Factors Influencing Movie Theater Attendance" (No 3, 1979); "Youth Vocational Guidance" (No 2, 1985, coauthored) and others; and Frat Mindibayevich Ayev, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior instructor at the Stavropol State Pedagogical Institute. Author of the article "Professional Mobility of Young Workers" published in this journal (No 4, 1980)]

[Text] In 1985 the North Caucasian SSA department conducted a survey of public opinion of the working people on some elements of the production situation. The questions were answered by 17,000 workers, kolkhoz members, ITR and employees. A survey was also made of 500 experts--party, soviet, trade union and economic workers (subsequently, for the sake of simplicity, the participants in the first survey will be identified as respondents and of the second, as experts). The study took place in the Kabardino-Balkar, Kalmyk and Checheno-Ingush autonomous republics and Krasnodar and Stavropol krays.

Those surveyed gave priority to technical factors among the reasons delaying the increased efficiency of output (imperfect equipment, poor repair facilities). This was indicated by 31.1 percent of respondents and 81.0 percent of experts. Roughly the same percentage--29.7 (59.7) noted the poor organization of the production process: scarcity and low quality of raw materials, imperfect expenditure norms, etc.; 19.0 and 60.0 percent pointed out shortcomings in the organization of labor (unsatisfactory work regimen, poor control).

The rating of the wage system proves to be quite surprising. Most specialists believed that the stimulating role of wages is inadequate. However, this view was held only by 7.6 percent of the respondents and 31.4 percent of the experts. This can be explained, obviously, by the fact that the reasons we already enumerated are predominant. Furthermore, on a purely subjective basis, those surveyed considered wages (despite all production breakdowns) as being honestly earned. In this case we have reason to speak of imperfections

in the incentive mechanism. Incidentally, the significant share of subjectivism in the assessments is confirmed by the following circumstance: 2.2 percent of the respondents (17.6 percent of the experts) gave low professional training as their reason. In a somewhat different situation, in which those surveyed described their own professional standard, the resulting data were different (we shall discuss this later).

The number of experts who pointed out said reasons was significantly higher than that of respondents. This is related to the fact that the leading personnel are better informed of the problems. We believe, however, that this is affected also by the subconscious desire to shift some of the responsibility for the shortcomings to so-called objective circumstances.

The breakdown of the reasons for violations of labor discipline was similar. The first reason was the imperfect nature of the equipment (17.7 percent), followed by insufficient attention paid to the amenities and recreation of the people (16.8 percent), interruptions in raw material procurements (14.4 percent) and spare parts (12.6 percent); and poor control over the work (7.8 percent). Only 2-4 percent of the respondents noted other reasons (including the absence of material penalties). As to measures for the struggle against violators of labor discipline, the situation changed. First place was given to deprivation of bonus (30.3 percent), followed by a citation of reprimand (28.8 percent), demotion, transfer to less skilled work (19.2 percent), condemnation of violators at a meeting of the collective (8.3 percent), and loss of turn in the wait for housing (5.1 percent).

Unquestionably, these steps--material above all--are quite effective. Furthermore, their efficiency should be increased. What draws our attention is something else. Having noted among the main reasons shortcomings in equipment, the respondents virtually do not relate strengthening the discipline with improved use of equipment and the installation of more efficient machinery and equipment and better technologies. Without having become a daily standard of production life, the penalty "by the ruble" has already become a stereotype of public opinion, which hinders the restructuring of the thinking in accordance with the party's stipulation of comprehensively accelerating scientific and technical progress.

The constructive concept of the technical retooling of the production process becomes even more necessary considering that the respondents were quite restrained in describing changes in the technical standards of the enterprise employing them. Only 8.6 percent believed that in the past 5 years the equipment has been greatly improved. In the opinion of 37.1 percent of those surveyed it improved somewhat whereas 38.9 percent saw no particular changes. The current status of the equipment used by the various groups of respondents was assessed as follows (on the basis of a 5-point system): kolkhoz workers, 3.88; workers in trade and public catering, 3.58; in transportation, 3.53; in industry, 3.47; in communal and consumer service enterprises, 3.45; in sovkhoses, 3.39; and in construction organizations, 3.28.

We can see, therefore, that the most satisfied were members of sectors in which saturation with equipment is not so high as, for example, in industry. Here the overall socioeconomic situation of those surveyed plays a certain

role. In any case, it is precisely this that partially explains the fact that sovkhos and kolkhoz workers substantially differ in views concerning the equipment. Yet both types of agricultural enterprises are equipped with essentially the same type of machines and devices.

The systematic technical updating of the production process is restrained also by the fact that wages are poorly related to the educational standard. According to the survey, the average wage of a respondent (with additional payments and bonuses) is 164 rubles monthly. Workers with a primary education earn 165 rubles; with unfinished secondary education, 167; with secondary specialized training, 158; with secondary education, 166; and with unfinished higher education, 170 rubles. To begin with, this situation does not encourage the cultural and technological growth of the working people, the high level of which is a necessary prerequisite for the utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in production. Secondly, 30.9 percent believe that their wages do not correspond to the work they perform; according to another 29.8 percent the wages do not correspond to their actual labor contribution and skills. Particularly great is the dissatisfaction among the main promoters of scientific and technical progress--specialists with secondary technical and higher training (more than one third) and people working in trade and public catering (average wage 120 rubles), and transportation and communications (162 rubles), i.e., sectors in which technical facilities in many jobs are low.

The reader may recall that among the factors which hinder the growth of production efficiency the respondents rated among the last insufficient professional training. However, an entirely different picture emerged in the special discussion of such problems. Only 34.1 percent of those surveyed are engaged in improving their training and professional standards. Seventy-one percent of the respondents believed that the work demands a steady enhancement of general standards and professional skills. One out of eight frankly acknowledged lack of learning and technical training. A "scarcity" of professional knowledge was admitted by 16.2 percent of workers aged 18-20, 17.5 percent of those aged between 21 and 25 and 14.3 percent of those aged between 26 and 30. The fact that the cultural and technical standards of many of the surveyed was insufficiently high and that a significant percentage of them performed jobs without the necessary training are all factors which lower interest in the technical retooling of the production process. How active are the workers in this area?

The respondents rated relatively highly their participation in upgrading labor productivity and production quality (averaging 3.45 points). A total of 8.9 percent were not involved in such activities. In specific trends of activities, however, the rating of those surveyed was more modest: equipment improvements, 2.86; production planning, closely related to that, 2.75; perfecting wages, 2.84. The share of nonparticipants in such activities reached one third.

In itself, this figure cannot be considered disappointing, for it is not only a matter of voting for a new development at a meeting, thus ensuring a 100 percent participation figure in the accountability report, but readiness to undertake directly at the workplace to implement this new development.

Judging by the research data, the situation in this area leaves a great deal to be desired. The respondents who were informed of the existing shortcomings justifiably believed that the key to their elimination lies in technical restructuring, and improving the organization and management of the production process. However, the view on this matter of a significant percentage of those surveyed was abstract and unrelated to their individual situations. In order to make every working person involved with the steps formulated by the party on the acceleration of socioeconomic development and interest in their implementation extensive and painstaking sociological work is necessary.

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LABOR DISCIPLINE AS A TOPIC OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

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(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 124-127

[Article by Vyacheslav Georgiyevich Karpov, junior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems. Specializing in sociological problems of public opinion and mass information media. This is his first article in this journal]

[Text] The question of the strict observance of labor discipline becomes particularly crucial as our society becomes directed toward the comprehensive acceleration of socioeconomic development. This journal has repeatedly pointed out that the struggle for discipline is frequently reduced to imposing a stricter administrative system which, in itself, without proper organizational support of the labor process, becomes meaningless formality (4, pp 43-44). If all that a person must do is remain on the job for a certain period of time, the value of such "discipline" is nil. The result of labor activities is the integral indicator of the discipline of workers and employees. Trivial though such an approach may be, we are still far from having attained its implementation.

The mass information media play an exceptionally great role in strengthening discipline. Newspapers, the radio and television must provide a practical interpretation of this problem. They must disseminate the most efficient means of solving it, and shape public opinion in a spirit of intolerance of working time losses. Is everything in this area properly functioning? The study of materials published in Leningrad newspapers and a survey of public opinion of industrial workers we conducted in 1982-1984 indicated that sometimes the press provides a one-sided interpretation of problems of labor discipline: essentially it promotes measures of administrative and educational influence. Frequently problems of the reasons for violations are ignored. As a result, the criticism sometimes is addressed at innocent people. For "a great deal of the blame falls not on the lack of discipline or insufficient responsibility of the worker but the lack of production organization, its unrhythmical nature, which disturbs the work cycle and disorganizes the worker" (1, p 14). For example, could any tangible result of educational work with violators of discipline could be expected in a brigade which is idling by the fault of a related unit?

Data on population surveys (5) have indicated that the press must try to bring to light above all the socioeconomic and organizational reasons for discipline breakdowns. This would make it possible to mobilize public opinion for the elimination of all circumstances without exception, which have led to one violation or another, and to a radical improvement in the conditions of economic activities. However, sometimes the press avoids a discussion of serious and complex production improvement problems, identifying strengthening of discipline with punishment and the reeducation of violators. This is confirmed by the study of materials published in three oblast newspapers between May 1982 and October 1983. During that time LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, SMENA, and the weekly LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY published 385 items on the further strengthening of labor discipline: 73 percent of them were in favor of educational measures of influence; 45 percent of the materials raised the question of imposing more severe penalties for disciplinary violations. Only 25 percent of the materials called for improving production organization, 16 percent for upgrading the interest of the workers in conscientious labor and 11 percent for ensuring the extensive participation of the workers in production management (the total exceeds 100 percent, for many of the articles suggested several such steps).

Therefore, educational and legal means of influencing prevail in the consciousness of newspaper contributors over organizational-economic methods. As a whole, only one third of the publications in the local press dealt with the influence of noneconomic factors on the condition of labor discipline. Let us note that different orientations in the interpretation of such topics, based on the specific nature of the newspaper, totally failed to bring about a noticeable shift of emphasis. Thus, LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY paid considerable attention to the role of primary labor collectives, whereas SMENA raised more frequently the problem of discipline in the context of tasks related to the labor upbringing of youth. Both gave priority to the noneconomic factors we enumerated.

It is worth noting that during the period covered by our survey, this breakdown of priorities was typical not only of the Leningrad newspapers. It was no accident that the need to pay greater attention to economic conditions for strengthening discipline were discussed in April 1984 at the plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists as being a common problem of the press (2, p 8). Delegates to the all-union practical science conference, which discussed the implementation of the resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum in December 1984, noted that frequently the press gives priority to subjective factors in production development while underestimating objective economic laws (3, p 338).

The most popular form of presentation of information in the publications we studied was a description of negative or positive examples of behavior of members of a labor collective. The study of a problem situation, from the viewpoint of the reasons for the appearance of production breakdowns, was encountered less frequently by a factor of 3-4. As a result, occasionally specific arguments and facts yielded to moralizing and unsubstantiated statements.

The newspaper contributors seem to have forgotten the mandatory stipulation that today the level of education and standards of the readers is quite high; they are able to draw conclusions without outside help. Therefore, above all the press must display competence, provide efficient information and make a profound study of problems. Yet, occasionally the newspapers "chew" events and facts to such an extent as to make an article indigestible.

The press must sum up the experience of the masses and express public opinion. This fully applies to the labor discipline topic. We must point out that during the period under consideration public opinion was ahead of the position taken by the local press. A study of the opinion of workers at the Nevskiy Zavod imeni V.I. Lenin Production Association indicated that the respondents classified among the prime tasks in the area of strengthening discipline measures of an organizational-economic nature and, above all, upgrading the interest of the worker in conscientious labor and improving the organization of the production process (the study was conducted by the department of educational and psychology of the Higher Trade Union Culture School in 1981).

Table 1

Industrial Workers' Evaluation of Steps Aimed at Strengthening Labor Discipline, 5-point system

Step	Average Rating		
	Sokol Association	Association imeni N.K. Krupskaya	Vibrator Association
Intensified ideological-educational work	2.76	2.87	2.55
Increased strictness, stricter penalties	3.07	3.21	3.16
Increased material incentive for conscientious work	3.82	3.68	3.73
Improving labor and production organization	3.67	4.10	4.03
Increasing the degree of real participation of workers in production management	2.98	2.62	2.55

A study made with our participation 3 years later revealed the extent to which orienting public opinion toward the strictly production aspect of strengthening the discipline was stable and representative. On this occasion we studied the public opinion of three collectives substantially different in terms of sociodemographic and professional structure, based on conditions of labor activity.

The Sokol Association (n = 300) specializes in repairs of household equipment; most members of the collective are men and the main skills are those of fitter-electrician and fitter-repairman. The collective at the Pastry Industry Association imeni N.K. Krupskaya (n = 109) consists primarily of

women and the main skills are related to conveyor belt--sweets-maker, caramel-maker and wrapping-machine operator. The main skills at the Vibrator Association (n = 325), where conveyor belt production is side by side with the operation of machine tools, are assemblyman, fitter and mechanic.

The breakdown of priorities is statistically significantly different in each of the labor collectives. However, the following circumstance was characteristic: the workers in all three collectives gave priority to organizational-economic measures. On an average, improving the organization of the production process is rated first in 50 percent of the cases; upgrading interest in end results, in 33 percent. Noteworthy is the independent assessment of the rating of each method used in strengthening discipline, based on the age, skill and earnings of the respondent. Cadre workers, who called more firmly for the use of stricter penalties, were the exception.

Therefore, the coincidence of the results of the surveys conducted at different enterprises and at different times leads to consider that the orientation toward organizational-economic steps aimed at strengthening labor discipline is a stable feature of worker public opinion (5,6). In other words, the reasons for the weakening of discipline cannot be reduced merely to educational omissions (5). Education work aimed at strengthening labor discipline must be structured on the firm foundations of organizational-economic measures.

Table 2

Worker Evaluation of Press Materials on Problems of Strengthening Labor Discipline, 5-point rating system

Quality Characteristics of Press Materials	Average Rating			Statistical Value of Differences
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	
Expressing the view of the majority of workers	3.49	3.28	2.75	0.01
Reflecting the real condition of discipline	3.14	3.13	2.65	0.01
Reflecting the real reasons for discipline violations	3.74	3.43	3.24	0.01
Effectiveness of suggested steps	3.43	3.36	2.89	0.01
Practicality of suggested measures	3.16	3.04	2.81	0.01
Competence of publication authors concerning production problems	3.27	3.19	2.81	0.01
Liveliness and intelligibility of presentation	3.54	3.39	2.98	0.10

In terms of the extent to which the views of the surveyed workers coincide with the most frequently expressed views in the press, the workers may be divided into three basic groups. The first (about 6 percent) consider educational and legal aspects of strengthening discipline as determining. The

second group (about 54 percent), while highly valuing the role of educational and legal influences, ascribes greater significance to economic measures. The third group (about 34 percent) considers organizational-economic measures as having priority, relegating educational and legal steps to the background.

Unquestionably, such differentiation in public opinion concerning methods applied in strengthening the discipline substantially influences the attitude of the workers to articles in the press. Table 2 provides information on the attitude of the respondents of the three groups to local press publications. It turned out that the assessment of the quality of publications enumerated in the table (including formal ones) is the lower the greater the noncoincidence of opinions of a given group and the viewpoint predominating in the press becomes. Therefore, the insufficient study of the ratings and viewpoints which actually prevail in a worker environment could substantially lower the efficiency of press propaganda. The way to upgrade the effectiveness of newspaper materials is the more adequate and fuller representation of public opinion. This presumes a conversion from uncoordinated to the systematic study and purposeful shaping of public opinion.

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SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE WORKERS ASKED 143 QUESTIONS

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[Article by Aleksey Georgiyevich Vasilyev, candidate of technical sciences, deputy director; and Yuriy Alekseyevich Shumov, candidate of technical sciences, dean, correspondence training department; both authors are employed at the USSR GKNT Institute for Upgrading the Skills of Information Workers; This is their first article in this journal]

[Text] Sociology rarely studies the personnel of services providing scientific and technical information. Nor do they draw the attention of the press, radio and television to them. Yet, the extensive practical utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology is inconceivable without the active participation of information workers. Our time imperatively puts them in the leading ranks of enthusiastic promoters of the scientific and technical revolution.

Our country has a state system for scientific and technical information employing about 200,000 people. Furthermore, tens of thousands of specialists work in this system by combining skills.

What are the social reserves for perfecting the professional activities of scientific and technical information services? The sociological survey conducted in 1984 by the Institute for Upgrading the Skills of Information Workers of the USSR GKNT (IPKIR) helps to answer this question. The study was based on the method of the all-union study of social changes (headed by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI (1)). It involved students of the daytime, evening and correspondence departments of the institute. The selection was based on series, comprising 22 percent of the total (4,000 people). The survey included 143 questions.

How is the detachment of information workers formed? A study of the survey clearly shows that it was haphazard. Only 3.3 percent of the respondents had training which coincided with the nature of their work ("data and document processing"); 43 percent had engineering degrees; 26.5 percent were educators and 26 percent were graduates of VUZs teaching the humanities. Those surveyed included former members of the military, agronomists and others. Most students, before joining the information service system, had worked in the

area of their VUZ training: 6 years or less, 41 percent, and 10 or more years, 23 percent. A significant number of respondents (as many as 23 percent) had never worked in this area. More than 30 percent of the students had changed their profession twice: 8.6 percent had changed it three times and 4.5 percent, more than three times. Therefore, the ranks of information workers are reinforced, first of all, by highly mobile specialists who are interested in new developments in the various areas of science and technology; secondly, by individuals who did not find satisfaction with their initial profession or else had changed it under the pressure of nonprofessional circumstances. In any case, basic training is needed to upgrade their skills. This is hardly justified from the economic and social viewpoints. Under circumstances in which information flows increase at a dizzying speed, the systematic enhancement of the skills of those engaged in the organization, processing and dissemination of information should be subject to specialized training.

All students participate, one way or another, in the system of continuous training, which is developing in the country--the post-graduate training subsystem. Most of the respondents (84.5 percent) have higher training; 3 percent of them have completed their post-graduate studies and 1 percent had scientific degrees; 10.4 percent of those surveyed had increased their skills at their own enterprises, 12.8 percent had attended courses at the intersectorial TsNTI, 9.6 percent had attended sectorial TsNTI or IPK, and 29.2 percent indicated that they were engaged in self-education. Therefore, only one third of the respondents had undergone preliminary training and not all students, as required by the current regulation. In other words, in the case of the majority of information workers the problem of systematically upgrading their skill is quite urgent. Only 35 percent of the respondents had last attended school 1 to 4 years ago; 16.7 percent had attended school no less than 5 years ago and 6.9 percent, more than 10 years ago. The violation of the stipulation of undergoing periodical training (once every 6 years) proves that in some areas requirements concerning the level of training of information workers are low and that the system of centralized planning of increasing skills is inefficient.

This situation is also partially due to the fact that the respondents showed little interest in upgrading their skills. So far, the reason for acquiring new knowledge was dominant. It was indicated by 75.6 percent of the respondents; 8.3 percent noted as a reason for IPK training the possibility of living in the capital. Only an insignificant number of students (12.6 percent of those surveyed) related their training to further advancement in their jobs. A total of 31.6 percent did not see such possibilities at their enterprise while 23.7 percent found it difficult to answer. Therefore, more than 60 percent of the respondents assess either negatively or vaguely the possibility of professional promotion. Incidentally, an approximately similar percentage (about 65 percent of the students) have no experience in management. The poor link between upgrading skills and advancement in the job is determined by the fact that 51.3 percent of the students consider the ways and means currently used to encourage skill upgrading unsatisfactory. We consider these problems to be one of the key aspects in perfecting this system. So far a most important aspect, such as the influence of the results of the training on professional activities, is absent in assessing its efficiency.

As a minimal step which would require virtually no investments of resources for its implementation, we could recommend to the USSR State Committee for Labor and to the respective ministries and departments, the following: upgrading skills should be made part of the work record of specialists and the results of the training considered in the periodical certification of cadres and in job transfers. This would enable us to enhance the prestige of such forms of professional training and would have a positive influence on the use of the knowledge thus obtained in the daily practical activities of information workers.

Here is another consideration: the information service could become a wide field for the social advancement of its personnel as a structural component of a broader process of social transfers of highly skilled specialists. Unfortunately, so far this complex and quite contradictory process has been obviously understudied. Let us hope that the study initiated by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI in the various economic sectors for the purpose of determining their specific trends will be continued.

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QUANTITATIVE EVALUATION OF THE STABILITY OF TEACHER CADRES

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[Article by Viktoriya Fedorovna Pugach, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, Scientific Research Institute of Problems of the Higher School, USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. Author of the article "On Staffing Pedagogy VUZs" published in this journal (No 2, 1985)]

[Text] Stabilizing pedagogical cadres and reducing their turnover are among the major trends in the reform of general education and vocational schools (1, pp 57-58). The correlation between the number of young specialists assigned to the schools and the number of those who have actually remained there is a major indicator of the stability of the teaching contingent. A method for the quantitative evaluation of this indicator is suggested in this article. Computations are provided based on statistical data for the country's general education schools. We used data from the Central Statistical Administration and the USSR Ministry of Education.

In the last three decades the share of teachers with higher training has substantially increased in daytime general education schools: it was 41.5 percent in 1965 and 76.7 percent in 1984 (2, p 459; 11, p 516). Nevertheless, the schools are still not fully staffed with skilled cadres: a significant percentage of teachers, including those teaching senior grades, have no higher education training; there is a particular shortage of educators in rural areas. Within the period under consideration, the number of teachers with practical experience of up to 5 years remained approximately stable, with a certain declining trend. The number of people with a teaching experience exceeding 25 years increased substantially; in other words, an aging process of teaching cadres was taking place.

Between 1966 and 1970 937,200 people graduated from VUZs statistically classified under the sectorial education group (which includes education and some other types of VUZs) (4, p 472; 5, p 687; 6, p 691). Of these, 625,600 went to work in general education schools, i.e., 66.8 percent of the total (7, p 157; 8). In the next 9th 5-year period, such VUZs graduated 1,154,000 students (4, p 472; 9). However, the number of teachers in the schools increased by only 721,400, or 62.5 percent of the graduates (7, p 157). The

situation during the 10th 5-year period was the following: institutes within said group were completed by 1,259,100 people, whereas 720,000 or 57.2 percent of the total went to work in the schools (6, p 427; 7, p 158). Therefore, the share of graduates of such VUZs, who immediately enter the general education schools after the completion of their training, is declining.

No systematic special studies are being made to assess numerically the outflow of educators from the schools. This makes a comparison between data on teacher mobility for a given year impossible. In order to clarify this question, let us compare information on the actual number of teachers in schools and the planned number. The latter can be obtained as follows: knowing the number of teachers with higher education teaching in general education schools throughout the country before the beginning of the 5-year plan (unfortunately, there are no statistical data on the number of school teachers with higher nonpedagogical training) and the number of VUZ graduates assigned to the schools for the 5-year period, we compute the number of teachers with higher education at the end of the 5-year period according to the formula:

$$A_5 = 0.97^5 * A_0 + 0.91 * P,$$

in which A_5 is the number of teachers at the end of the 5-year plan; A_0 is the number of teachers before the beginning of the 5-year period; P is the number of young specialists with higher education assigned to general education schools during the 5-year period; 0.97 and 0.91 are the coefficients used to estimate the natural loss of features (computed the author).

The formula is based on the following assumptions: first, the influx of specialists in the schools will take place on an even basis, by year of the 5-year period; second, the natural annual loss of teachers will be 3.0 percent (10); third, the teachers will not change employment and work in other areas of the national economy. It is thus that we compute the presumed number of teachers with higher training in general education schools at the end of the 5-year period. Following are specific computations of indicators for the end of the eighth, ninth and tenth 5-year periods (2, pp 456,459):

$$\begin{aligned} A_5 (1970) &= 0.97^5 \times 1,036.2 + 0.91 \times 625.6 = 1,459,200.0 \\ A_5 (1975) &= 0.97^5 \times 1,379.9 + 0.91 \times 721.4 = 1,841,800.0 \\ A_5 (1980) &= 0.97^5 \times 1,738.0 + 0.91 \times 720.0 = 2,074,900.0 \end{aligned}$$

Let us compare the estimated number of teachers with higher educational teaching in general educational schools with the actual number. What characterizes all three 5-year periods is the fact that the first indicator is higher than the second and that the disparity increases in the course of time: by the end of the 8th 5-Year Plan the estimated number exceeded the actual one by 79,500 people; the respective figures for the end of the 9th and 10th 5-year periods were 103,800 and 172,000.

The correlation between the actual number of teachers and the computed one for the end of the 5-year plan may be considered an indicator of the stability of teachers in general education schools: for the 8th, 9th and 10th 5-year periods it will be, respectively, 94.5, 94.4 and 91.7 percent. Consequently, although the education VUZs have graduated more and more specialists with

every passing year, the number of teachers with higher education teaching in general education schools did not increase at a corresponding pace. The percentage of graduates who went to work at general education schools declined while the number of teachers leaving the schools increased. The difference between the computed and the actual number of teachers with higher training for the 10th 5-year period was higher by a factor of 2.2 compared with the 8th.

There are no summed up data on the number of young specialists assigned to the schools for the 1981-1985 period. That is why we shall use the following method to estimate their number on the basis of available statistical data for the first 4 years of the 11th 5-year period (1981-1984). The formula suggested in this article for the four period will be as follows: $A_4 = 0.97^4 * A_0 + 0.92 * P$ (the meaning of the symbols remains the same). Aware of the number of teachers with higher training in the schools at the beginning and end of the period, we shall solve this equation in terms of P, i.e., in terms of the factual growth over the 4 years. We shall find its percentage from the number of education VUZ graduates for the years under consideration. For the sake of comparison, we shall make similar computations for the three preceding 5-year periods (2, pp 456,459; 3, pp 487,491; 11, pp 512,516).

$$\begin{aligned} A_5 (1970 = 1379.7) &= 0.97^5 \times 1036.2 + 0.91 \times P_1 \\ A_5 (1975 = 1738.0) &= 0.97^5 \times 1379.7 + 0.91 \times P_2 \\ A_5 (1980 = 1902.9) &= 0.97^5 \times 1738.0 + 0.91 \times P_3 \\ A_4 (1984 = 2147.6) &= 0.97^4 \times 1902.9 + 0.92 \times P_4 \end{aligned}$$

We obtain: $P_1 = 537,000$ people; $P_2 = 606,000$; $P_3 = 451,000$; and $P_4 = 514,000$.

In the 1981-1984 period the VUZs graduated 1,079,400 specialists (11, p 529). The share of the actual addition to the teaching cadres by VUZ graduates during those periods was, respectively, 57.3, 52.5, 35.9 and 47.6 percent, i.e., it declined steadily.

As we can see, at the beginning of the 1980s the situation improved somewhat. However, further special steps must be taken to increase the influx of teachers in the schools. Let us note that in the period under consideration the training of teachers in the full time VUZ departments was carried out at a faster pace. All other conditions being equal, this provides better opportunities for controlling the mobility of young specialists. The study we made leads to the following basic conclusion: it is unlikely that increasing the scale of training educators will eliminate the gravity of the problem of the full staffing of schools with highly skilled cadres. In solving this problem of the school reform, we must emphasize mainly the further enhancement of the prestige of the teaching profession. We must create the type of socioeconomic and organizational conditions which would contribute to the influx of specialists and positively affect the stabilization of pedagogical staffs.

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FAMILY AND AESTHETIC UPBRINGING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 131-133

[Article by Svetlana Nikolayevna Nazarova, post-graduate student, family sociology sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. This is her first publication in this journal]

[Text] The new draft of the CPSU program emphasizes that, consistently guided by the Leninist principles of cultural building, the party will be concerned with the aesthetic education of the working people and the growing generations in the best examples of domestic and world artistic culture (1). The family plays a very important role in the system of social institutions directly engaged in shaping the aesthetic culture. It has substantial, although not always utilized, opportunities for developing in the child aesthetic needs and tastes, the ability to understand art and the foundations of artistic culture, and to value and experience beauty in nature and in human interrelationships.

Table 1

Classification of Answers to the Question "What Factors Prevent You from Paying Greater Attention to the Aesthetic Upbringing of the Child?," %

Answer	Mother	Father
My son (daughter) does not need it at all.	1.8	1.9
This is the concern of the kindergarten, the school, the Pioneer house, etc.	2.8	4.0
Insufficient knowledge	21.5	21.0
Insufficient leisure time	36.8	36.7
Tired after work	15.8	18.7
Poor health	6.7	4.2
Distance between home and cultural institutions	2.8	2.9
Poor organization of cultural services (advertising, distribution of tickets, travel vouchers, etc.)	9.7	9.9
Other reasons	2.1	0.7

Does the contemporary family understand this task? What role does it play in shaping the aesthetic culture of the individual under the conditions of

developed socialism? We tried to find answers to these questions in the course of a sociological study conducted in Kerch in 1985. The complete nuclear family was the subject of the study. A quota selection system was applied. A total of 1,080 members of 360 families were surveyed. Two investigations were conducted to gather primary data. One was for the parents (father and mother, filled by each one of them separately); the other was for adolescents in the eighth-tenth grades in the secondary school.

Each of the surveys consisted of four blocks of questions on the following: 1. conditions and level of perception of aesthetic values by parents; 2. system of relations between parents and children (active and purposeful aesthetic influence by the parents on the child); 3. results of the aesthetic influence of the family on the child; 4. sociodemographic features of the respondents.

In this article will provide a basic interpretation of obtained empirical data. Let us consider, above all, the extent to which the contemporary family rates the importance of aesthetic culture and its significance of developing it in the children. The parents were asked the following question: "Which of the enumerated items do you consider quite important in the upbringing of the child and which are less important?" We listed the main areas of the education of the child: labor, physical, moral, aesthetic, atheistic, ideological-political and ecological. Judging by the answers, the parents consider labor education the most important (high ratings of 6 and 7 were given, respectively, by 28 and 48 percent of respondents) and moral upbringing (17.9 and 34.9 percent, respectively). This is understandable. Awareness of the need for a labor upbringing of the children has been transmitted from generation to generation. The contemporary Soviet working person as well does not conceive of his own life and the life of his children without work. The high rating of moral upbringing given by the parents is explained by the fact that in the socialist society the moral ideal is that of a highly humane person: good, sensitive, responsive and attentive. That is the way the majority of parents would like to see their children. As to the aesthetic education of children in the family, it was obviously underestimated. Only 2.5 and 5.9 percent of respondents gave high marks to it (6 and 7); 6.1 and 17.9 percent gave low marks (1 and 2); the majority (57.6 percent) gave a 3 and 4 rating, which are intermediary and, essentially, express no evaluation whatsoever.

What prevents the parents from paying greater attention to the aesthetic development of the child? As the table shows, most respondents refer to lack of leisure time. This confirms once again the great need for steps aimed at creating a highly developed service industry, finding new possibilities of shortening the working day, increasing the length of paid leave, etc.

Another factor which hinders the family in successfully performing the function of providing an aesthetic upbringing of the children is the lack of preparedness by some parents. About 20 percent of the respondents indicated their lack of knowledge in this area. The same percentage of respondents referred to objective circumstances, in particular the poor organization of cultural services and distance to cultural institutions.

It is pleasing to note that the number of parents who consider aesthetic education totally unnecessary for their children or else who shift this task entirely to society is very small. It is not excluded, however, that to one extent or another such views are shared also by those who quoted lack of time and knowledge, poor health and other objective reasons.

The successful development of a general and aesthetic culture of children in the family largely depends on the level of development of aesthetic awareness and aesthetic standards of the parents. The data obtaining in the course of our study leads us to conclude that education work with the working people in the area of upgrading their standards leaves something better to be desired. Few lectures are being delivered and there are few talks on aesthetic subjects. The percentage of those who attend culture universities is very low. Naturally, this is not the main or the only indicator of aesthetic upbringing. However, a great deal of unused possibilities remain in this area.

The enterprises are scheduled to play an important role in the aesthetic upbringing of the working people. Their social development plans should, in our view, include a section on "Upgrading the Aesthetic Standards of the Members of the Collective." This section should be coordinated with the respective parts of the regional plan for economic and social development. We must plan not only lectures and talks on aesthetic subjects but also the creation of circles and clubs for lovers of the arts, the participation in which would be possible for the personnel at the enterprise and their children. It would be expedient to practice more extensively meetings with artists and specialists in the field of aesthetics, and organize readership and audience conferences. We must also actively help to organize family attendance of theaters, motion pictures, circuses, concerts, etc. All of this would not only enhance the level of aesthetic culture of the family but also contribute to its consolidation.

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FROM THE HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL THINKING

REASONS AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DRUNKENNESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 144-152

[Article by Frants Edmundovich Sheregi, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate, Komsomol Central Committee, Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center. Author of the monographs "Politicheskaya Kultura i Molodezh" [Political Culture and Youth] (coauthored, 1982); "Formirovaniye Naseleniya v Zone BAM" [Establishment of the Population in the BAM Zone] (coauthored, 1985). Repeatedly published in this journal]

[Text] During the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, a sharp increase in the consumption of alcohol in all European countries was noted. This was explained by the tempestuous development of capitalism, increased exploitation of the working people, increased population mobility and destruction of the vestiges of the patriarchal way of life of millions of people. Having become a mass phenomenon, drunkenness triggered an active counteraction: the anti-alcohol movement, which was not only educational but also practical in its aim. In addition to gathering information on the dynamics of the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages, medical workers and sociologists studied the prerequisites for and consequences of mass alcoholism and tried to provide a theoretical interpretation of drunkenness as a social phenomenon.

Bourgeois sociologists consider this phenomenon a form of social deviation. According to them, the roots of drunkenness are found above all in the alienation of the individual and his rejection of the dominant forms of social relations (5). The same viewpoint was shared by the supporters of the anti-alcohol movement in Russia before the revolution. Thus, M.N. Nizhegorodtsev wrote: "...the first basic group of reasons for the alcoholism of the masses is found in economic conditions (the negative aspects of the capitalist system and agrarian conditions), sanitary-hygienic (food, housing, etc.), and legal and moral, in the narrower meaning of the term (dissatisfaction with personal, civic and political status)" (4, p 24). He considered as a second reason "the drinking habits and customs." The third group of reasons, in his view, was "the production, import, hauling (transportation) and sale of alcoholic beverages and alcoholic substances in general." He further added that "unquestionably, the consumption of alcoholic beverages is, to a certain extent, related to the number of drinking establishments, the personal

interests of the owners of such establishments, the means of sale of alcohol (in smaller or larger containers), the length of time during which places selling alcohol remain open, etc." (4, pp 25-26).

In connection with the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the tsarist government terminated the monopoly production of alcoholic beverages, which was the equivalent of introducing a "dry law" in wartime conditions. The situation in the country changed radically after the October 1917 Revolution but the anti-alcohol measures remained almost until the mid-1920s. The civil war and the postwar dislocation demanded decisive action on the part of the state of proletarian dictatorship in stopping drunkenness. Moonshine and other efforts to oppose the anti-alcohol policy of the socialist state were, given these difficult circumstances, one of the forms of the struggle waged by the old society against the growth and strengthening of the positions of socialism. Deprived of their social roots, which are inherent in capitalism, drunkenness and alcoholism were supported, as accurately pointed out by the noted psychiatrist V.M. Bekhterev, by "drinking customs and traditions" (6, p 13). The anarchic arbitrariness of the petit bourgeois element frequently became uncontrollable in this area.

Table 1

Growth of Moonshine and Number of Home Stills Between 1922 and 1924 *

Year	Detected Moonshine Cases, thousands	Confiscated Stills, thousands
1922	94	22
1923	191	54
1924	275	73

*Note: Table based on data cited in (10, p 14).

The concept of "domestic alcoholism" began to dominate in the mid-1920s and the main reason for consumption became "observance of established social customs" (7, p 17). Three types of domestic drunkenness were singled out: ritual, related to the practice of religious cults; ceremonial, related to customs (celebration of guests, marriages, etc.); family, drunkenness based on private economic interests.

In the absence of state sales of alcoholic beverages ceremonial drinking was an incentive for moonshine. For example, in one of the villages in Vologoda Guberniya (1924) 52 peasant farmsteads used for making moonshine on the occasion of a religious holiday an average of 4.5 quintals of rye flour and some 50 quintals for ten holidays. On an average, a peasant family used as much as 10 poods of flour per year for moonshine for celebrations (8, p 7).

Furthermore, the peasants used moonshine as currency. Thus, the price for hauling wood was either 5 quintals of grain or 24 liters of moonshine; hauling construction lumber cost 10 liters of moonshine (8, p 12). The huge disparity between the prices of industrial and agricultural commodities was the reason for the use of moonshine as currency, because of which "...it paid the peasants to convert grain surplus into moonshine" (9, p 114). According

to 1923 data, the making of moonshine in the country meant a loss of 100 million poods of grain (6, p 6).

The intensive growth of moonshine at the beginning of the 1920s is confirmed by the data in table 1.

In 1924 up to 1 million stills were recorded in the country (8, p 32). S.N. Sheverdin notes that actually, the number was much higher, for since 1922 the struggle against moonshine in the countryside had been virtually abandoned (11, pp 74-75).

According to a survey conducted by Gossspirit in the summer of 1923, almost 10 percent of all peasant families were making moonshine (12, p 86). Therefore, the number of stills in the country exceeded 10 million. Subsequently, the supporters of the anti-alcohol movement explained the introduction of state monopoly on alcohol production in the summer of 1925 with the aspiration to reduce moonshine. However, the real reasons were economic.

Revenue from the sale of alcoholic beverages has been part of Russia's budget since the middle of the 18th century. In 1749, for example, it totaled 1.8 million rubles. A study of data for the period from 1826 to 1911 (13, pp 226-227) leads to the following conclusion: the absolute amount of such income rose steadily, accounting for approximately one third of the state budget (figure 1). A 2 percent increase in the consumption of alcoholic beverages increased the revenue by 14 percent (3, p 46). The production and sale of 12-proof grape wine was allowed on RSFSR territory and 14 proof since 1921 (14, p 21). Sales of fruit and dairy wine, up to 20 degrees proof, was allowed in 1922; in 1923 the production of brandies and liqueurs up to 20 degrees proof, was allowed, raised to 30 degrees in 1924 (12, p 114).

share of income, %
Income, million rubles

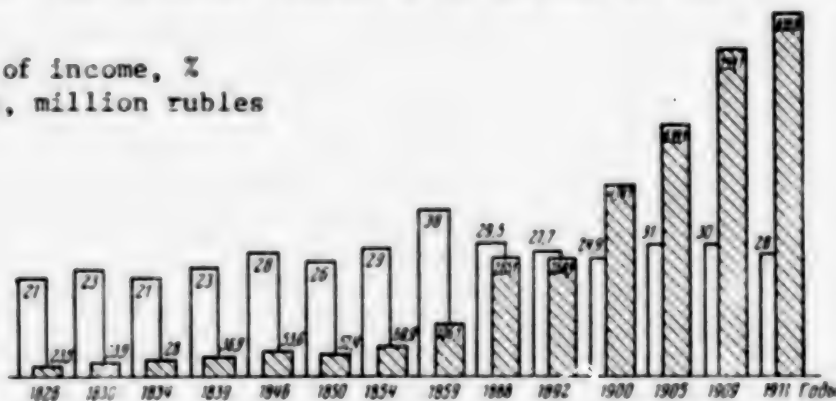


Figure 1. Trends in changes in income from the sale of alcoholic beverages.

The question of whether or not to have a state monopoly on the production of alcohol was solved in accordance with the nature and condition of the country's economy (15, pp 145-155). V.I. Lenin, who substantiated the need for the NEP, always remained irreconcilable toward alcohol, both as state vodka production and moonshine (1). Subsequently, however, the aspiration of the state to do without foreign capital and the need to rely exclusively on its own financial resources (in the absence of an adequate volume of commodities) led to a lifting of the ban on alcohol production and sales. The

nature of this step is clearly expressed in J.V. Stalin's answer to a question asked by foreign workers on 5 November 1927: "When we introduced vodka monopoly, we had the following alternative: either be enslaved to the capitalists, surrendering to them a number of most important plants and factories...or introduce a vodka monopoly in order to obtain the necessary working capital for the development of our industry through our own forces..." (2). In accordance with this step, income from vodka and alcoholic beverages increased and its share in the state budget rose from 2 percent in 1923/24 to 12 percent in the 1927/28 fiscal year (16). Such a growth (10, p 16), naturally, could be only the consequence of the intensive increase in the production of alcoholic beverages and beer (table 2).

Table 2

Increase in the Production of Alcoholic Beverages, thousand liters per year

Beverage	1922/23	1923/24	Year 1924/25	1925/26	1926/27	1927/28
Vodka	0.0	9.84	50.03	252.0	387.45	510.45
Beer	98.4	211.45	253.37	381.3	393.06	418.02

Per capita consumption of alcohol in Russia has always been lower than in the other European countries. However, this indicator should be considered as somewhat distorted because of the very low level of alcohol consumption among the Asian peoples and some ethnic minorities within the country. In 1900, in terms of the alcohol consumption indicator (annual per capita average, 50 degrees proof vodka) Russia was eleventh, coming after 1. Norway, 35.0 liters; 2. Denmark, 15.83; 3. Austria-Hungary, 11.0; 4. Belgium, 9.6; 5. France, 9.2; 6. Germany, 8.8; 7-8. Sweden and the Netherlands, 8.1; 9. Switzerland, 6.1; 10. Great Britain, 5.08; 11. Russia, 4.88; 12. United States, 4.81; 13. Italy, 1.16 liters (4, p 34). The deviation of this indicator in Russia was influenced by two factors: regional disparities in alcohol consumption and level of urbanization. Thus, in terms of 40 degree proof vodka, alcohol per capita consumption in 1900 was as follows: the northern areas, 8.7 liters; the eastern, 5.1; industrial, 8.7; middle Chernozem, 6.4; Ukraine, 5.7; Baltic area, 6.6 liters, etc. Therefore, the averaging of the general indicator (4.88 liters) was influenced by the Asian parts of the country. Ever greater disparities existed between the urbanized and the non-urbanized areas: in the Russian countryside this indicator per adult male averaged 12 liters: 40 in the towns and 70 in Petrograd (4, p 41).

In 1913, on the eve of ending state alcohol production, its per capita consumption in Russia (in units of pure alcohol) was 3.41 liters. By 1923 it dropped down to nearly 0 and after the resumption of state monopoly (1925) it averaged 0.88 liters.

Subsequently, there was a slow increase in alcohol consumption until 1950 and a sharp increase in 1970-1980: 1932, 1.04; 1940, 1.9; 1950, 1.85; 1960, 4.82; 1970, 9.22; and 1980, 12.63 liters per capita (16). A process of intensive urbanization of the country took place in the 1960s-1980s, which was another "incentive" for the spasmodic increase in alcohol consumption. Data of

special studies conducted abroad confirmed the influence of urbanization on increased consumption of alcohol (17).

Russian researchers also brought to light the correlation between the level of alcohol consumption and the nature of the job. Thus, V.M. Bekhterev computed that if we take the alcohol consumption by coal diggers and loading workers as 100 percent, consumption by ditch diggers would be 97.9 percent; coach drivers and chimney sweeps, 90.9 percent; bakers and cooks, 90 percent; wood cutters and carpenters, 85.7 percent; brick layers, 83.2 percent; butchers, 80.0 percent; fitters, 77.8 percent; mechanics, 71.3 percent; servants and printing workers, 66.7 percent; dyers (house painters), 64.1 percent; sales clerks, 53.7 percent; boot makers, 55.6 percent; tailors, 44.4 percent and post and telegraph officials, 42.9 percent (6, p 48).

Russian researchers studied the social consequences of drunkenness and alcoholism both before the revolution and in the 1920s. Following are some of their observations.

The conclusion drawn by N.I. Grigoryev provides a most general concept of the influence of drunkenness and alcoholism on the growth of criminality by the turn of the century (1909): "Nearly half of the prison population had committed a crime in a state of drunkenness" (18, p 2). It would be pertinent to quote data collected by the researchers on the percentage of crimes committed while drunk: against "chastity and the honor of women," 62 percent for Petersburg and 46.6 percent uyezd average; mutilations and wounds, respectively, 55.3 and 51.5 percent; thefts, 52.9 and 28.3 percent; murders, 39.0 and 33.0 percent; robberies, 42.1 and 48.3 percent (19, p 205).

Proof that it is precisely drunkenness that influences the growth of the crime rate is found in the changes in the nature of crimes after the introduction of state monopoly on alcohol production. Compared with 1925, subsequently the number of crimes committed in a state of drunkenness increased 270 percent in the cities and 330 percent in the villages (20, p 142).

Assessing the economic harm caused by drunkenness is more difficult, for the statistical computations for its different varieties were made by different departments. For example, E.I. Deychman cites the following data: in the 1927/28 fiscal year income from sales of alcoholic beverages totaled 728 million rubles; losses totaled 1,270,000,000, i.e., were almost 80 percent higher (20, p 119). Yu. Larin, chairman of the Society for the Struggle Against Alcohol, estimated that after the abolition of the "dry law" annual losses from declined labor productivity averaged 5 percent of industrial output, worth 300 million rubles; 500,000 tons of grain (150 million rubles); and 100,000 tons of molasses, potatoes and fuel (in other words, losses totaled no less than 450 million rubles (10, p 29).

Practical experience proves the beneficial influence of reduced alcohol consumption on productivity and labor discipline. Immediately after banning the production of alcohol, the Voluntary Economic Society made a study of 214,615 workers in 172 industrial enterprises throughout the country; the results indicated that labor productivity among male textile workers had increased by 3.6 percent; that of metallurgical workers by 11.4 percent; the

average for all worker groups was 0.89 percent. Cases of absenteeism declined by one half (10, p 22). For the sake of comparison let us note that after lifting the ban on vodka production, absenteeism for nonlegitimate reasons (1925/26 data) increased by 11.7 percent at industrial enterprises (6, p 45).

Table 3

Deaths Caused by Alcohol Poisoning
(per 100,000 people)

City	Year								
	1911	1913	1915	1917	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Moscow	7.2	6.7	2.1	1.3	1.0	1.3	4.6	7.6	11.8
Leningrad (Petrograd)	35.1	-	-	-	1.7	2.7	6.4	10.9	18.3

The influence of alcohol on the state of the population's health can be estimated more accurately, for it was done by activists within the anti-alcohol movement, mainly physicians. Three main forms of influence of alcohol on health were singled out: 1. An integral mortality indicator, which included all types of lethal results of alcohol poisoning (cirrhosis of the liver, consumption, freezing, etc.); 2. Suicide influenced by alcoholism; 3. Nervous-mental diseases. Venereal diseases were also singled out as "paralleling" the main groups. The reasons of the concern of the researchers concerning the population's state of health is confirmed by data for Moscow Guberniya: in 1909 less than one third of 100 live-born babies reached the age of 20 (18, p 17). A clear idea of the increased mortality caused by alcohol intoxication (10, pp 17-18) after the lifting of the ban on the production of alcoholic beverages, is provided by statistical information for Moscow and Leningrad (Petrograd) (see table 3).

Statistics (for 1866-1904) show that in Petersburg a great deal of suicides were committed in a state of drunkenness: 25.6 percent among men and 14 percent among women (18, p 4). The connection between the consumption of vodka and the increased number of suicides is confirmed even more clearly by data obtained by A.M. Korovin (21, p 19):

Per capita vodka consumption, liters	Suicides per 1,000 deaths
1.0 - 3.0	4.6
3.1 - 5.0	6.7
5.1 - 7.0	7.7
7.1 - 9.0	11.5
9.1 and higher	82.6

In 1913 the number of mentally ill as a result of drunkenness accounted for 19.7 percent of all recorded cases of mental illness. From 1916 to 1920 mental illness caused by drunkenness was found in isolated cases. However, as moonshine developed, the share of the mentally ill began to grow: it accounted

for 2.4 percent of all mental cases in 1923. After the lifting of the ban on alcohol production, the increase continued: 5.5 percent in 1924, 7.2 percent in 1925 and 9.4 percent in 1926 (20, p 122).

Venereal diseases and consumption were the most threatening of the "satellite" diseases. As A.M. Korovin indicated, a very close correlation existed between the first intoxication, starting to smoke and the beginning of sexual activity (22, p 81). Among others, this is confirmed by a study of 4,376 children, adolescents, and young men and women in the Siberian countryside of Achinsk Okrug, conducted in 1924-1925 (see figure 2).

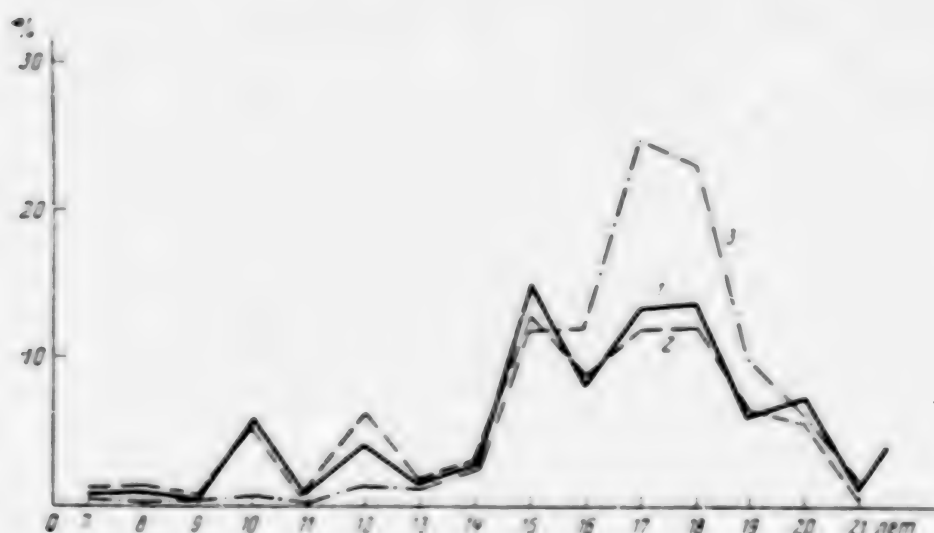


Figure 2. Age dynamics of the beginning of alcohol consumption (---), smoking (—), and sexual activity (-.-).

One of the main problems which was closely studied by specialists was the influence of alcoholism on the genetic potential of the future generation. Articles appeared in the press on the "degeneracy of the Russian people" caused by "mass miscarriages, alcoholism and syphilis." An indicator such as the percentage of rejected conscripts was extensively used in the study of the population's health. N.I. Grigoryev wrote that "the health of young people drafted for military service is an indicator of the country's health and social wellbeing" (18, p 16). According to official statistics, 19.5 percent of the 227,158 individuals conscripted between 1902 and 1904 were rejected for reasons of "hereditary alcoholism." Worse hereditary features were manifested in the following diseases: scrofulous malnutrition, 15.5 percent; nervous diseases (epilepsy, paralysis, etc.), 5 percent; idiotism and insanity, 9.3 percent; deafness and deafness and mutism, 10.6 percent; "narrow chest and rickets," 19.2 percent; chronic inflammation of the lungs, 17.2 percent; chronic catarrh, 23.2 percent (18, p 9).

Let us remember that by the turn of the century more than one half of all alcoholics were under 24. For a number of reasons (changed nutritional structure, struggle against alcoholism, etc.), by the 1980s the age structure of alcoholics had changed substantially. We can see this by comparing the results of the studies conducted in 1907 by A.M. Korovin (23, p 57) and, in recent years, by G.G. Zaigrayev (16) (figure 3).

By the end of the 19th century there was proof that it was possible to inherit a predisposition for alcoholism and of the influence of hereditary alcoholism on the state of health and health deviations in the young generation. According to the records of 12 psychiatric institutions for 1894-1895, cases of heavy drinking worsened by heredity were noted in 83 percent of men and 9 percent of women; such heredity in the case of chronic alcoholism was noted in 70 percent of men and 19 percent of women (24, p 440). Based on the study of records of illnesses and health deviations in the population for 1901, N. Frontkovskiy has pointed out that hereditary alcoholism was the reason for chronic drunkenness (32.7 percent), crime (26.9 percent), mental deficiency (65.4 percent) and prostitution (37 percent) (25, pp 48-49). N. Morozov's observations indicate that parental drunkenness was the reason for idiocy of 33 percent of their children (26, p 113).

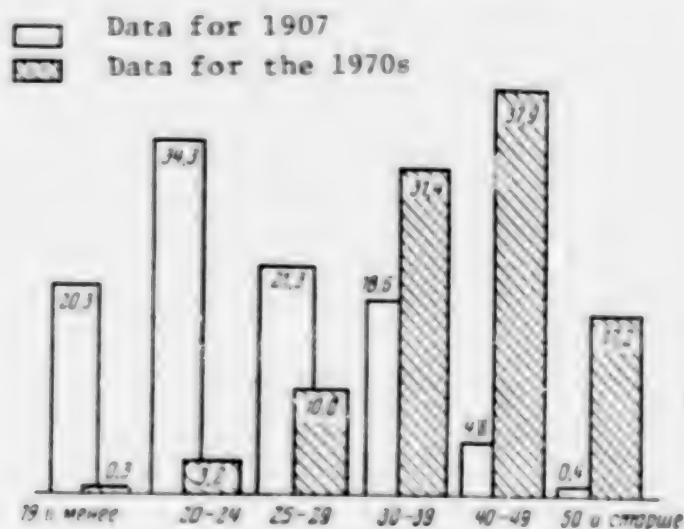


Figure 3. Age structure of alcoholics, %

Records of psychiatric clinics in Tula and Yaroslavl for 1903-1906 (18, p 9) indicate that adverse heredity was manifested equally along the paternal and maternal lines (see table 4).

Scientists also relate to alcoholism the excessively high mortality of newly born children in Russia (26 percent). In the European countries, by the end of the 19th century, this indicator averaged 20 percent; after the introduction of state regulations governing the sale of alcoholic beverages it dropped to 12 percent in Denmark, 10 percent in Ireland, 9 percent in Sweden, and 8 percent in Norway (27, pp 1-2).

Table 4

Influence of Heredity of Psychoneurological Pathology
(based on Tula and Yaroslavl data for 1903-1906), %

Patients	Accepted for treatment, people	Were alcoholics			Caused by parental alcohol.
		Father	Mother	Both parents	
Men	5,752	51.8	4.2	37.7	93.7
Women	577	49.7	8.1	38.0	95.8
Total	6,329	51.6	4.6	37.8	94.0

Tradition and the ignorance of the masses were major hindrances in anti-alcohol propaganda among children and adolescents. According to 1907 data, 43.7 percent of school students regularly consumed alcoholic beverages (23, p 90). Unfortunately, child drunkenness proved quite durable. Materials of a second study indicate that the consumption of vodka and brandy by schools students in Petrograd increased from 22.7 percent in 1900 to 41.5 percent in 1910. Of students surveyed in 1926, 73 percent drank wine and beer, 44 percent drank vodka and 20 percent drank moonshine. Frequently parents and relatives exposed the children to drunkenness. The study conducted by A.M. Korovin of 22,617 rural children, among whom, in the 7-8 year age group, alcohol was consumed by 61.2 percent of boys and 40.9 percent of girls (8, p 19) yielded the following results (see table 5). Let us recall the familiar truth that those who become accustomed to alcohol from early childhood become, as a rule, chronic alcoholics.

Table 5

Type of "Alcohol Intercourse" with Children, % of surveyed

With whom they drank	Used alcoholic beverages in 1908-1909		Used alcohol in 1926 (school students)
	boys	girls	
With father	42.6	32.1	49.5
With mother	14.4	26.2	31.2
With both parents	11.3	14.1	1.0
With acquaintances and relatives	23.6	23.2	17.4
In the company of children	6.5	2.6	0.9
Alone	1.6	1.8	-

The efforts of the researchers aimed at identifying the factors of population drunkenness and the social consequences of drunkenness and alcoholism led to the conclusion that "...state and legal measures can be of substantial importance only if society itself and, finally, the people's masses realize the full significance of alcoholism and consciously involve themselves in the struggle against this evil" (4, p 9). In 1927 V.M. Bekhterev expressed the following thought: "The sobering up of the working people is a matter for the

working people themselves... which is possible only if the broad masses have reached an adequate cultural standard" (6, pp 59-60). Sales of alcoholic beverages to minors and to intoxicated individuals were restricted at theater bars and cultural institutions and during days off and holidays (28). Mandatory anti-alcohol education was introduced in the schools in the autumn of 1926 (10). It was suggested to increase the production of sugar and nonalcoholic beverages and developing cinematography and radio broadcasting (29, p 1). The struggle against bootlegging was intensified comprehensively. Compared to 1926, bootlegging had increased by 78 percent in the first half of 1928 and by 107 percent in the second half of the year (14, p 28).

Furthermore, prices of alcoholic beverages were raised. Experience proved, however, that immediately after raising the prices the level of alcohol consumption would decline insignificantly (4, p 33). This is confirmed, in particular, by data on vodka price changes (see table 6). Thus, during the period under consideration, while vodka prices were increased by 120 percent, consumption dropped by no more than 28.6 percent. Furthermore, in the countryside vodka was replaced by moonshine. For example, the increased price of vodka by 50 percent in December 1925 contributed to a drastic lowering of vodka consumption in the countryside, where it was replaced by moonshine; in the cities, vodka consumption showed no significant change.

Table 6

Price Increases and Dynamics of Vodka Consumption

Year	Price increase, in % of previous price	Per capita consumption, l	Changed consumption compared with previous level, %
1864	--	8.7	--
1870	20.0	9.0	+3.4
1874	16.7	8.2	-8.9
1881	14.3	7.9	-3.7
1887	12.5	6.3	-20.3
1888	2.8	6.2	-1.6
1893	8.1	4.9	-21.0
1901	10.0	4.9	0.0
1907	--	6.3	+28.6

Let us note, in conclusion, that drunkenness and alcoholism are not simply a form of individual or mass deviant behavior but a social anomaly which conflicts with the development of civilization and which society has the right to eradicate by any means at its disposal. It would be useful in the persistent and consistent struggle waged against drunkenness and alcoholism, mounted by the party and the state (3) to take into consideration and use past experience, including the results of scientific studies.

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SCIENTIFIC LIFE

SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION PLENUM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 188-190

[Report by V.S. Borovik, G.L. Skiter and M.R. Tulchinskiy]

[Text] A plenary meeting of the board of the USSR Academy of Sciences Soviet Sociological Association was held in Moscow. The participants in the plenum, representing all sociologists in the country, studied in detail problems of the strategy of acceleration of scientific and technical progress as a base for the intensification of social production, and defined the assignments of sociology in this connection.

Dr. of Philosophical Sciences Kh.N. Momdzhyan, chairman of the SSA, noted in his opening speech that the main task of the association is to help to convert the science of sociology into an efficient tool for the implementation of the changes earmarked by the party. The scientists must find efficient solutions to problems affecting society.

Dr. of Philosophical Sciences Zh.T. Toshchenko, SSA vice president, who emphasized the basic achievements of sociologists in the area of socioeconomic problems, such as the stabilization of labor collectives, improving their sociopsychological climate, upgrading the quality of manpower and setting up brigades operating on the basis of a single order, discussed in detail unresolved problems. He pointed out that sociologists must concentrate on finding ways of developing in all working people proprietary feelings toward the production process and a thrifty and economical attitude toward national and cooperative property. Also needed are the restructuring of the public consciousness and its orientation toward the development of personal initiative and the use of everyone's potential.

Academician T.L. Zaslavskaya spoke on studies of the social mechanism of the development of the economy and, above all, the need to upgrade the social quality of workers. The increased technical facilities for labor and the steady increase of materialized labor formulate new requirements toward the participants in public production, for any type of breakdown by the fault of the individual worker is becoming increasingly costly to society. All processes in the national economy are closely interrelated and an unskilled or negligent person in one link could create an entire chain of violations.

Finally, the individualization of jobs also requires of everyone a higher degree of self-control. The processes of managing people become more difficult under these circumstances.

The existence of an alternate and, partially, underground economy, which are a type of alternative to honest labor, is a major problem. All of this leads to the fact that the labor and creative potential of society remains partially unused, socialism becomes devalued, and the education of young people becomes more difficult. In the view of the speaker, it is important to create conditions under which the person will obtain the opportunity for self-realization in his job. In this case sociology can play a major role: in addition to identifying the objective and subjective reasons which hinder the reorganization, which should contribute to perfecting production relations under socialism, priorities given to tasks, such as creating a theoretical model of real socialism and determining the social factors which influence the economic mechanism and create corresponding forms of economic relations. In this connection, the efforts to perfect social qualities in man, such as education, culture and moral consciousness, assume great importance. The science of sociology cannot remain aside from the struggle against negative phenomena in our life, such as drunkenness, thievery, bribery and favoritism. We could hope for quick success by involving the broad masses in this process.

SSA Vice President and Dr. of Philosophical Sciences V.N. Ivanov emphasized in his report the need for intensification of the social behavior of the individual and the social groups in production. The main attention of the sociologists, according to the speaker, should be, above all, concentrated on the study of the entire set of conditions and factors which determine the actions of the people in material production, and on the study and summation of changes occurring in the social appearance and status of individual population groups and in the system of their interests and value orientations. On the basis of this range of problems, scientists must pay prime attention to identifying the social reserves within society and earmark ways for their efficient and full utilization in the interests of economic intensification. The USSR Academy of Sciences ISI collective, the speaker went on to say, has conducted a number of studies, particularly on the way of life and the social aspects of the large scale economic experiment, problems of general and professional training, and use of collective forms of labor organization and incentive. The party's course toward economic intensification requires a major enhancement of the quality of all scientific research by sociologists, and paying constant attention to the new problems related to the role of the human factor in public production.

Dr. of Philosophical Sciences A.G. Zdravomyslov noted that sociologists have completed a number of projects which are a valuable theoretical and practical capital. Nevertheless, the artificial narrowing of research topics in recent years, and the preference given to study of phenomena on the macro level and neglect of urgent social problems, such as drunkenness and alcoholism, the bureaucratization of the administrative apparatus, whitewashing, figure padding and a negative attitude toward labor reduce the efficiency of sociology. In this case the fact that the main line followed in the development of sociology has involved in recent years its widening without any further intensification and theoretical processing of already accumulated and

interpreted data, had a strongly adverse effect. The speaker emphasized the need extensively to promote method standards and, in particular, to perfect the technology of pilot studies, methods of work with experts, selective surveys and business games.

The report by Dr. of Philosophical Sciences A.G. Kharchev, SSA vice president, dealt with the study of the human factor in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. Before studying this factor empirically, we must refine its theoretical understanding and eliminate the very popular interpretation of it as being entirely subjective. Subjectivity, i.e., the dependence of activeness on conscience, will, capabilities and qualities of the acting subject is inherent in the human factor. In its entirety, however, it is an objective force of our development. In this aspect it is the most important component of production forces and a subject of economic and sociopolitical relations. In this connection, we should remember that the term "subject" and "subjective" are by no means identical on the gnosiological level, for they reflect essentially different relations: the first is a relation between existing force and the object of its influence; the second is the relation between aspects of the activities themselves, and the nature of identification of each of these aspects. Correspondingly, sociology must study the human factor as the active principle of socioeconomic processes in the dialectical unity of its objective and subjective aspects.

Dr. of Philosophical Sciences E.V. Klopov and Dr. of Historical Sciences L.A. Gordon discussed in their paper some problems of the study of the social development of the working class. In considering this problem in the context of the international labor movement, they pointed out that the particular attention paid to this topic is explained by the fact that the Soviet working class is operating under the conditions of a country which had made significant progress on the way to communism. However, its social and production potential is being realized by no means completely. This is confirmed, in particular, by information included in the party documents and published in the scientific press on the systematic lowering of the growth rates of labor productivity and of indicators of capital returns, quality of output and weakening of labor discipline. Particularly important in this connection is the study of the conditions and factors related to strengthening the vanguard role of the working class in the accelerated socioeconomic development of Soviet society.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences L.O. Sysoyeva, head of the KamAZ sociological service, noted in her speech that under the conditions of the conversion of industry from ordering to economic work methods a number of social problems arise, above all related to upgrading the skill of workers and their adaptation to the new forms of labor. In this connection, KamAZ sociologists face a great deal of difficulties, such as the lack of clear method guidelines and programs, and work on a large number of topics (12 to 15 studies annually). The low skills of the cadres hinders the implementation of the assignments which life sets to the enterprise's sociological service.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V.S. Borovik, SSA scientific secretary, drew attention to the organizational aspects of the association's work. Its departments, he noted, have an insufficiently clear status. The association

could do a great deal to enhance the skill of sociologists by assigning leading scientists to specific areas. So far, however, the financial authorities have not solved the problem of financing such assignment. The association is unable to sponsor competitions for best sociological works and publish works on methods and materials of conferences, symposia and seminars. Although funds are available, current financial regulations forbid their use for such purposes. That is the reason for which the legitimate requests of many of our collective and individual members must be denied. The speaker suggested a review of the regulation on the economic aspect of SSA activities, closely related to the entire work of the organization.

Dr. of Philosophical Sciences G.V. Osipov, SSA vice president, spoke on the new qualitative change in the development of Soviet sociology. He noted, in particular, that under conditions in which a close interconnection has been established between economic intensification and scientific and technical progress, on the one hand, and the solution of social problems, on the other, sociology must become directly involved in the system of societal management.

Nineteen scientists and practical workers from Moscow, Leningrad, Stavropol, Kostroma, Odessa, Yerevan, Voronezh, Ulan-Ude and Chita took part in the debates which followed the speeches. They noted the growing role of sociology in perfecting social practice and social policy, highlighted some crucial problems and formulated a number of specific suggestions on including sociology within the system of state management of the society (G.V. Osipov) and intensifying the development of sociology (Dr. of Philosophical Sciences V.Zh. Kelle). The possibility of increased conflict situations at enterprises caused by problems of labor discipline, the installation of new equipment, overtime, and the load carried by middle-level managers was noted (Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A.K. Zaytsev, deputy director in charge of social affairs, Motordetal Plant, Kostroma). Candidate of Historical Sciences S.P. Goryunov (Stavropol) made suggestions on improving coordination activities of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI and on material support of SSA department secretaries. Dr. of Philosophical Sciences I.M. Popova (Odessa) spoke on upgrading the professional responsibility of sociologists and on the struggle against whitewashing, demagogy and embellishment of reality.

The plenum of the SSA board adopted a resolution according to which the main task of the association during the 12th 5-Year period will be the comprehensive study of economic intensification, the territorial deployment of production forces and the fuller implementation of the principles of social justice and the socialist way of life.

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CONFERENCE OF MOSCOW PLANT SOCIOLOGISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
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[Report by A.I. Kravchenko]

[Text] A conference of Moscow plant sociologists was held recently. The main report was submitted by Dr. of Philosophical Sciences Professor V.I. Ivanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISL. He stated, in essence, that in all likelihood no one needs convincing today of the fact that socialist production intensification and the solution of the problems which face our society can be achieved only on the basis of the enhancement of the human factor. Who if not the plant sociologists should interpret this problem, make a comprehensive study of social reserves and suggest efficient practical recommendations to economic managers? Substantial experience has been acquired. Suffice it to mention the social services of the ZIL, AZLK, Krasnyy Proletariy, Mosavtotrans and the Moscow Computing-Analytical Machines Plant imeni V.D. Kalmykov. However, a comparison between the possibilities of applied sociologists in the capital and profit to the national economy would reveal that we are still quite far from being able to make an optimistic assessment. What are the reasons for this? According to the speaker, the main one is the low quality of scientific recommendations and the insufficient sociological training of economic managers. Neither producers nor consumers of scientific output are ready today to engage in constructive dialogue and creative cooperation.

One of the efficient means of solving organizational problems in the sciences is combining the efforts of plant sociologists and psychologists and organizing comprehensive social development services. Corresponding Member B.F. Lomov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Psychology, spoke on sociology and psychology as practiced according to various levels of knowledge. Hence the importance of integrating them within the system of sociological studies. After emphasizing the specific nature of the work of the plant psychologist, the essence of which is the individual approach to human activities, the speaker set the service the following basic tasks:

Work with cadres at the enterprise and consideration of the psychological features of the working people. The determination of individual qualities and

projections of efficient human activities must be directed toward the choice of capabilities suitable for a specific type of work.

Youth adaptation. We know that in some enterprises cadre turnover among young people is higher by a factor of 5-6 compared to the average for all age categories of employed personnel. In order for a person to become involved with his work, it is necessary to develop within him a high level of motivation. He must see the possibilities offered by a job. The objective of the establishment of centers for professional consultation and the formulation of foundations of psychological projection of human activities is to ensure the fastest possible mastery of the new equipment. Another closely related task is increasing the efficiency of labor activeness (psychological support for the application of new forms of labor organization and enriching the labor content). What psychological efforts are applied by the individual in performing a given type of work if the work is fully organized and requires significant physical and mental efforts? According to B.F. Lomov, the plant sociologist must not avoid solving the problem of the "psychological cost of labor." Lowering it and creating psychologically comfortable conditions at work are needed in order to have a stable and efficiently functioning labor collective.

Dr. of Philosophical Sciences A.V. Filippov (Moscow Management Institute imeni S. Ordzhonikidze) spoke on the VUZ sociological training system. He described the work of the department of sociology, the only one of its kind in the country at this point, in training economic managers. Today we are still unable to assign a sociologist to each enterprise. However, is this necessary in principle? There is a shorter and, possibly, no less efficient way: that of training sociologically knowledgeable managers.

Not only economic reforms but also a turn in the social consciousness are needed, Dr. of Philosophical Sciences Professor Zh.T. Toshchenko (CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences) noted. The major gap existing between the knowledge and the convictions of the people must be narrowed quickly. The main feature in this work is the elimination of the formalistic approach which has many aspects, including ostentatious self-serving reports submitted by managers in which showiness replaces real accomplishments and which display scorn for official obligations and an essentially bureaucratic style of work. The question must be formulated more broadly, as a state-wide problem. The current condition of plant sociology proves the existence of a formalistic attitude toward its needs. The result is the inefficient social development of enterprises, establishments and organizations.

The sociologists engaged in a frank and impartial discussion of crucial problems. M.I. Migura, employed at a Moscow production association, noted, in particular, the following: in submitting his recommendations, the sociologist thinks of the future; frequently, however, the enterprise manager tends to assess immediate success only. Today sociological illiteracy shown by the economic manager is not merely an economic problem. It causes moral harm to the collective, for which the culprit must be held responsible. A paradoxical situation is attained: we are calling for the enhancement of the human factor but some managers simply fail to understand what this is all about. What matters to them most is for the people not to complain. As figuratively

stated by the speaker, the sociologist can no longer live as before and the economic manager is as yet unable to adopt a new style.

For the past 10 years we have discussed the psychological services at enterprises, Candidate of Psychological Sciences A.I. Prokhorov said in his speech, yet no substantial results have been achieved. Although there are thousands of enterprises, there are no more than 5,000 psychologists and an even fewer number of sociologists within them. At such a pace, how can the training of social service cadres be in step with the development of the national economy? Practical sociologists expect of the scientists developed methods. The latter, however, must deal with unsolved problems involving basic research. The only solution is not to disperse the already scant forces among enterprises but to concentrate them in the centers and grant them economic and legal autonomy so that they can solve important intersectorial problems.

A.V. Neshchadin (Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work) cited convincing arguments against the dispersal of sociological cadres. Naturally, it is impossible to appoint sociologists on all levels of management. Even if services are created in the trusts alone, more than 700 specialists will be needed. This is unrealistic. There is yet another aspect to this problem: services consisting of one or two people are inefficient, whereas large services are economically unprofitable. In addition to the fact that we have no basic methods and aids accessible to the ordinary sociologist, we have still not learned how to assess the economic efficiency of our recommendations.

The conference of Moscow sociologists indicated that plant sociology faces a number of unsolved problems. However, the social need for its development today is so great that there is no longer time to lose. Efficient and immediate steps must be taken to ensure quality improvements in scientific research of labor.

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MEETING OF SOCIOLOGY HISTORIANS

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[Report by V.P. Ogoyev]

[Text] The broader the scale of sociological research becomes, and the more results are accumulated (empirical as well as theoretical), the more frequently the following question faces the specialists: what are the specifics of sociological knowledge? An expanded answer should be sought above all in the history of the subject. The importance of psychological legacy in solving problems which face the science today was the main topic discussed by the participants in the interregional seminar on "Topical Problems of Marxist Historical-Sociological Research." The conference was held in Moscow at the beginning of this year. It was organized by the Soviet Sociological Association and the USSR Academy of Sciences ISL.

Unity between history and logic is manifested above all in the problems affecting the subject, structure, functions and tasks of sociology. According to Dr. of Philosophical Sciences G.Ye. Mkhitaryan (Yerevan) and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E.N. Ozhiganov (Riga), a proper formulation of the question of the subject of Marxist-Leninist sociology requires the philosophical interpretation of the ideas of management and a harmonious social system and the further development of the theory of social activities.

The topic of the specific nature of sociological knowledge was further discussed in the course of debates on the sociophilosophical concepts of F.M. Dostoyevskiy, G.V. Plekhanov, G. Zimmel, M. Weber, and S.L. Frank. Two ranges of problems drew particular attention: the principles of social knowledge and the ideological struggle concerning the legacy of said philosophers. Thus, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E.L. Gaydady (Donetsk) discussed the evolution in the image of the Russian people in the works of Dostoyevskiy and proved that this topic is of major importance in connection with the critique of the ideology of contemporary bourgeois liberalism, anarchism, the dissemination of the idea of African socialism, etc. E.N. Ozhiganov emphasized that identifying the social group, i.e., the community whose interests directly reflect the concept of the philosopher, plays an essential role in historical-critical research.

The method lessons from Soviet socioeconomic studies of the beginning of the 1930s were described by V.V. Kostyushev (Leningrad) and A.V. Rusakov (Moscow). Developments in the sociology of competition, class awareness of the workers and social structure of the population of rural areas in previously backward national outlying parts of the country yielded results which are of interest to this day. This was largely accomplished through the choice of method. The experience of graded classification and multiple-level analysis used at that time deserve close studies.

The participants paid great attention to the critical interpretation of contemporary bourgeois sociology. Increasingly popular in the West today is the slogan of "back to the sources." This is manifested above all in the unprecedented increase of interest in Marxist sociological legacy. Supporters of various and sometimes opposite orientations are trying to present Marx as the forefather of their own theoretical concepts and thus to "bourgeoisify" him. In this connection, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences D.Ya. Aliyeva (Bratislava) drew attention to the following fact: Marxist historical-critical publications concentrate on the study of neo-Marxism of the Hegelian variety; insufficient studies have been made of the "scientistic Marxism" started by L. Althusser. Yet this doctrine is quite influential and has been extended in the functionalistic, theoretical-game and ethnomethodological concepts developed by the bourgeois interpreters of Marxism.

Another manifestation of the interest shown in history is the "renaissance" of the classics of bourgeois sociological thinking: E. Durkheim, G. Zimmel, M. Weber and T. Parsons. This situation indicates efforts to formulate an orientation of sociological knowledge which would be universally applicable to the various approaches. In this connection, a lively debate was triggered by the reports submitted by N.S. Kovaleva (Moscow) on the neotechnocratic ideology of the 1980s, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences O.L. Leybovich (Perm) on the neo-Marxist concepts of collectivity, A.D. Boronnikov (Perm) on urban sociology in the FRG, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences I.K. Massalkov on the development of French labor sociology. Incidentally, the participants in the seminar noted the fruitfulness and promising nature of the country-by-country approach to contemporary bourgeois sociology.

The theoretical part of the seminar was concluded with discussions on the report submitted by Dr. of Philosophical Sciences L.G. Ionin (Moscow) on the "Two Realities in 'The Master and Margarita'," in which, taking literary material as an example (M.A. Bulgakov's novel) the author outlined a range of problems of the sociology of daily life.

A collection entitled "Topical Problems of Marxist Historical-Sociological Research" will be published, based on the seminar.

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CHRONICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) p 194

[Text] Reported by O.N. Kushnerova:

A conference on "Mass Communications and the Development of the Socialist Way of Life," organized by the Central Section of Mass Information and Propaganda Media (SMIP) and public opinion and the Baltic Department of the SSA, was held at the department of journalism, Tartu State University, in Tartu. It was attended by scientists representing the press, radio and television, and VUZ faculty. More than 30 reports were presented. Their main topics dealt with methodological problems and results of sociological study of interconnection between mass communications and way of life; way of life of young people and problems of shaping it through mass communication media; role of mass communications in shaping relations between the population and the environment; place of the different forms of communications in the structure of the way of life and the development of new information media; reflection and study of the models of the way of life in the content of mass communications. Reports were submitted by Dr of Philosophical Sciences I.T. Levykin (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI); Candidate of Philosophical Sciences M.Y. Lauristin and Candidate of Psychological Sciences P.A. Vikhalemm (Tartu University); Dr of Philosophical Sciences B.A. Grushin (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy) and B.M. Firsov (USSR Academy of Science Institute of Ethnography).

The conference drafted a number of recommendations on section problems for the benefit of regional SSA branches.

Contributed by A.V. Gaponenko:

A seminar on "Economics of the Family" was held in Riga. Greetings were presented by Dr of Economic Sciences L.Kh. Kirtovskiy, director of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. The speaker expressed the hope that the prejudice which has developed in economic theory toward the study of economic problems of the family will be eliminated, for it is precisely the family that is the primary "production" unit developing the ability of people to work. In defining the policy of approaches and forms of distribution of consumer resources and the shaping of an attitude toward the

population's private property, we must take into consideration the fact that the process of manpower reproduction goes primarily through the family. That is why economic problems must not only take into consideration the status of marital-family relations but also to stipulate measures to strengthen them. A total of 25 summations were drawn up at the seminar. Problems of supporting family economics with resources, of upgrading the level of household work mechanization and automation, compensating outlays for shaping the family labor potential and others, were discussed.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE CZECHOSLOVAK WORKING CLASS (MATERIAL FROM CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIOLOGICAL JOURNALS)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 195-198

[Review by Yu.A. Demchenko, S.D. Kireyev and E.G. Lavrik]

[Text] The topic we have used as a title of our notes is the focal point of attention of Czechoslovak sociologists. It is steadily discussed also in the journal SOCIOLOGICKY CASOPIS, which is the publication of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, and SOCIOLOGIA, which is the organ of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The article by I. Gutira and F. Prsikryal is entitled "The Working Class--The Leading Force in the Development and Rapprochement Among Nations and Nationalities." This study, which covers the area where sociology and scientific communism intersect, notes that the working class is the basic element of the Czechoslovak social structure: in 1980 it accounted for 62 percent of the country's active population. Slovak industrial development was especially fast. Whereas by the end of the 1930s there were only 150,000 workers in Slovakia, by 1980 their number had reached 1.2 million (1, p 503). The skills, educational standards and political activeness of the working class are improving steadily.

Many studies focus on identifying the specific forms of participation of the workers in enterprise management (2), the search for social reserves for optimizing relations in the labor area, and improving the quality of industrial output. The most important source of production intensification, according to Czechoslovak sociologists, is a well-organized educational system. For example, in his article "The Scientific and Technical Revolution and Some Aspects of the Development of Education," S. Landa (3) notes that under the conditions of production automation we need "industrialization" of education without, however, narrow specialization. The scientist submits a number of recommendations on the application of new methods for efficient training, including those related to the use of computers.

The main reserve for reinforcements of the working class in Czechoslovakia comes from worker families. The high level of the country's industrial development makes this a dominant trend. Thus, between 1945 and 1949 57.5 percent of all new workers came from such families; the respective figures

were 57.2 percent for 1950-1954, 60.3 percent for 1955-1959, 62.4 percent for 1960-1964, 61.7 percent for 1965-1969, 63.6 percent for 1970-1974 and 62.6 percent for 1975-1978. As a whole, between 1940 and 1978 the figure averaged 59.9 percent (it averaged roughly 50 percent in Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary. At the same time, as I. Vecernik, the article's author emphasizes, a stable vertical mobility developed: the accelerated improvement in the skills of the young workers and their moving into the ranks of the technical intelligentsia (2, pp 66-81).

The Czechoslovak labor army is reinforced annually by more than 250,000 young men and women. The need for social control over this most important vital step which influences the structure of labor resources and the development (or stagnation) of social production forces is obvious. With an overall growth of employment in the country between 1976 and 1980 of 5.44 percent (3.64 percent in Czechia and 9.88 percent in Slovakia (4, p 424)), on the professional level the situation was quite different. During that time the number of people working in services increased substantially. There was a considerable influx of cadres in education, culture and health care. As to the individual professions, an increased number of people employed in the power industry, ore mining and coal industry was noted in the Czech Republic and in the processing industry in Slovakia. Meanwhile, the number of working people in agriculture, forestry, construction, transportation and communal services declined. Unquestionably, such processes are related to production automation and to the growing share of a number of new professions.

As Slovak sociologist M. Demcak convincingly proves in his article (4), the efficient solution of the problem of manpower resources demands a precise forecasting of the development of production forces and the proper vocational guidance of young people based on age, sex, place of residence and consistency with the needs of the national economy.

SOCIOLOGICKY CASOPIS dedicated a special issue (5) to the problem of youth. Materials on the working class were dominant. Attention was paid to all stages in shaping the future replacements, starting with the guidance of school students, training in secondary and vocational schools and, finally, adaptation of the novices to the labor collective; this confirms the proper strategy adopted by the society toward shaping the working class. This was discussed in the article by L. Mahacek, who backed his conclusions with interesting empirical data (5, pp 490-500).

Charles University sociologists V. Kuharzova and P. Kuharz described the influence of the level of education of workers on adaptation possibilities on the professional and social levels (5, pp 501-514).

A. Fazik discussed the situation of young people in the labor collective, paying particular attention to the tutorship institution (5, pp 515-527).

The orientation of Czechoslovak scientists toward solving problems of social practice also presumes their involvement in the elimination of negative phenomena in labor activities. Actually, all issues of the sociological journals include such materials. Let us particularly note the work of M. Sariskiy and K. Shentadrasinov "Some Data and Conclusions from the Study of

Unjustified Absenteeism at a Metallurgical Enterprise" (6). After singling out among the truants groups distinguished on the basis of demographic, qualification and motivational features, the sociologists gave specific recommendations on reducing absenteeism in each of these groups (6, p 633).

The Czechoslovak sociologists pay great attention to interpersonal relations in the labor process. Interesting data were obtained by M. Goransky. Studies conducted in 1979-1981 in 122 labor groups and collectives in Slovakia (1,895 people were surveyed) indicated that in more than 8 percent of them conditions marked by indifference, dislike and even hostility had developed. Such relations were encountered much less frequently in socialist labor brigades and brigades struggling for that title (5.4 percent). The author's conclusion is that of the need to sum up and disseminate the experience of such brigades and new forms of interpersonal relations developed here. One of his conclusions relates to mastering related skills. This eliminates grounds for many conflicts of job and personal nature (7, p 296). The personality of the manager, the author emphasizes, is a factor which actively influences interpersonal relations in the collective. About one half (49.6 percent) of administrators apply the authoritarian style of management; 24.5 percent are liberal and the rest are mixed. According to the surveys, one out of nine of the 434 managers prefer to avoid social and labor problems instead of undertaking their solution. The indifference shown by the managers toward their associates has an adverse effect on the psychological climate of the collective. The results of the studies indicated that about one half of production leaders (47.8 percent) show no interest in the problems of their subordinates, and that only 3 percent systematically deal with them (7, p 297). The researcher considers that the solution to this situation is found in the presence in the collective of an informal leader who, while maintaining good relations with the manager, voluntarily takes over some of his functions. Such informal leaders were found in 20 percent of the 122 studied collectives; in 82 percent of the cases this had a positive impact on relations among associates.

The Czechoslovak sociological journals pay great attention to demographic studies. Achieving an optimal population level, including that of its economically active part, and ensuring an age group balance are among the most important problems in Czechoslovakia. The point is that a decline in the birthrate has been noted in Czechia since 1953 and in Slovakia since the beginning of the 1960s, which has led to an unfavorable situation with the labor force and affected the growth rates of industrial output. These problems were considered at the 14th CP of Czechoslovakia Congress (1970) and a program for their solution was formulated.

The demographic situation which developed in the country by 1973 (when the steps we mentioned began to be implemented) is studied by the noted demographer L. Pisca (8) in his article "Development of the Czechoslovak Social and Demographic Structure." In 1973-1977, he points out, there was a substantial population increase (from 14,334,000 in 1970 to 15,031,000 in 1977); the number of families with two and three or more children increased and that of one-child families decreased. Starting with this year, the results of the demographic policy implemented in the country will begin to influence the professional structure of the population as well.

The works by Czechoslovak demographers include studies on urbanization and related changes in the way of life of the working class. A specific feature of Czechoslovakia is the fact that a significant part of the workers here live in rural areas and in some cases account for the majority of the rural population. This triggers a number of problems with which the sociologists deal. The associates of the Institute for the Study of Living Standards (Bratislava) suggested their model for the classification of Czechoslovak settlements on the basis of essential socioeconomic and urban features (9). Geographic, ethnic and administrative features were used as auxiliary data. Three rural and five urban types of settlements were singled out on the basis of statistical data (1970 and 1980 population censuses above all). In the latter, the sociologists point out, people not involved with agriculture predominate. According to the 1980 census, one half of the active population in the villages of the Czech Republic with a population of under 2,000 are members of the working class (54.2 percent in the Slovak Republic); 27.7 percent are employees and only 20.3 percent are members of agricultural cooperatives. There are even fewer of them in Slovakia--17.2 percent. This applies both to small villages and large agrarian centers. The specific feature of such settlements is the fluctuating migration of the economically active part of the population. Thus, in 1980 62.0 percent of the entire employed population of Czechia and 71.3 percent of the employed population in Slovakia worked outside their villages (9, p 424). According to the sociologists, it is precisely thanks to this fact that the countryside is dynamically adopting a number of elements and value orientations of the urban way of life.

Members of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Construction and Architecture studied the process of Bratislava's social development. One of the tasks of this study was the status of people who had migrated to the Slovak capital. This was the topic of the article by J. Pasiak and P. Gajdos (10). As the sociologists were able to determine, changes in the social status of the migrants take place as a result of the enhancement of their professional status. Thus, whereas before moving to Bratislava 33.6 percent of the respondents had changed their worker rating, 45 percent had done so after their arrival. The authors' conclusion, therefore, is that moving to the city involves, above all, the desire to upgrade one's skills.

In 1985 the Czechoslovak sociological journals' articles on the working class could be classified into two groups of topics: the status of the workers as the leading force in social changes, and their status in the socialist countries in Europe. M. Slamova, scientific associate at the philosophy department of Charles University, discusses in her article the influence of production intensification on the most important social gain of the working people--the right to work. The processes related to the scientific and technical revolution and, above all, automation, lead to a reduction in the number of employed people and the increased requirements they face. The active use of robots as well creates new problems. Thus, in accordance with the plan for robotization and automation of some production facilities in Czechoslovakia, by 1990 300,000 jobs will be eliminated; starting with 1990, the use of fifth generation robots will make such processes even more intensive (11, p 145). Such a situation, the author notes, will aggravate the

question of the exercise of the right to work and add new nuances in the attitude of the working people toward the collective and society.

The conversion of industry to intensive development is causing structural changes within the working class not only in Czechoslovakia but also in other socialist countries. Increasingly, the sociological journals are publishing articles reflecting the results of comparative studies. J. Sanderova, scientific associate, Philosophy and Sociology Institute (Prague) notes that at the beginning of the building of socialism the size of the working class increased the fastest in the agrarian countries and much more slowly in the industrially developed ones: thus, between 1950 and 1970 the growth rates of the working class averaged 350 percent in Bulgaria, 130 percent in Romania, 140 in Poland, 110 in Hungary, 90 in Czechoslovakia and 40 percent in the GDR (12, p 22). With a conversion to intensive development of industrial output, this process becomes stabilized and the growth rates of the working class decline. The share of workers with higher and secondary training increases. At the same time, a certain disparity becomes noticeable between the level of worker skills and their professional aspirations.

In analyzing the skill breakdown, the sociologists note, on the one hand, the intellectualization of the labor of the workers and, on the other, the industrialization of many areas of mental work. This applies, above all, to precision machine building and the chemical and electronic industries. "The greatest changes in the workers' labor," Sanderova sums up, "are related precisely to these sectors. It is here, above all, that a process of rapprochement takes place between physical and mental work, the social bearers of which are the "border" stratum of highly skilled workers" (12, p 28).

The article by V. Brihnac and V. Chehak (13) is among those dealing with the relative studies conducted by scientists from the socialist countries. It is based on the materials of the debate on the problems of the study of social consciousness and the formulation of common concepts and terminology.

I. Vecernik bases his article on data of a comparative study of the dynamics of wages of workers in socialist countries (2, pp 66-81). Depending on the trends predominating in this area, he singles out different periods, such as the stage of equalization of wages (the 1950s), stabilization (1960s) and differentiation (1970s), pointing out that worker wages have been increasing steadily.

With their studies of the problems of the working class, the Czechoslovak sociologists are making an essential contribution to the solution of the vital problems of building socialism. They pay prime attention to the social problem specific to the country: changes in the structure of the working class and its demographic characteristics related to the features of the Czech countryside and the slow growth rates of the population. The scientists do not avoid in the least the discussion of crucial problems of contemporary worker life: forms of participation of the working people in production management, interrelationships within collectives and future sociostructural changes caused by scientific and technical progress. The topical nature of their research is a distinguishing feature of the professional activities of out Czechoslovak colleagues.

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SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF AUTOMATION (V.V. KREVNEVICH)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86 (signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 198-201

[Review by L.N. Kogan of the book "Sotsialnyye Posledstviya Avtomatizatsii" by V.V. Krevnevich. Based on materials of the international research project on "Automation and Industrial Workers." Nauka, Moscow, 1985, 188 pp]

[Text] This is the first publication and study of consolidated data of the international study on "Automation and Industrial Workers," which was conducted in 15 countries, socialist (Hungary, GDR, Poland, USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia) and capitalist (Austria, England, Denmark, Italy, United States, Finland, France, FRG and Sweden). The study was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement. V.V. Krevnevich participated in this project for 10 years and is fully competent to judge its results.

A uniform method was applied in the study of automobile industry enterprises, which is one of the most highly automated economic sectors. Extensive data were obtained on the social consequences of automation. A comparison between automated and nonautomated shops and sections within the same enterprises made it possible to determine changes which have taken place as a result of the installation of new equipment and use of new technologies.

The implementation of this study involved a great deal of difficulties. The methodological views of the participants were quite disparate, for this reason it is no accident that the same concepts, including the basic one--"automation"--were given different interpretations by Marxist and Western sociologists. Not all the stipulations of a previously coordinated method were observed, which demanded of the author substantial additional work.

In the opinion of the author, automation essentially means taking the individual out of the production process and preserving his creative functions, related to controlling and regulating the work of the production system on different levels (p 12). However, the most widespread today is the lower level of automation, which still does not make it possible to put man above the production process. Unfortunately, the lower and higher stages of automation, singled out by the author, are described extremely briefly and concisely. A number of questions arise. For example, does the new stage of

automation imply the use of contemporary robots, the so-called flexible systems and manipulators? (We believe that scientists who consider them the start of a qualitatively new stage are right.) The author says virtually nothing about the importance of new computer generations in terms of the automation process, contradictions inherent in partial automation, etc. The interesting initiation of a theoretical study should be continued without increasing the size of the book but by including in the addendum an extensive description of the method used in this international study.

One of the problems discussed in the greatest detail in the monograph is the influence of automation on worker skills. The author considers this a sum total of man's physical and intellectual capabilities for work of one degree of complexity or another (p 88). Since qualification grades and rates applied in the individual countries do not coincide, the degree of skill was determined in terms of the length of time needed to train a worker.

The study indicated that in the capitalist countries the share of workers in automated production who lack special training remains significant (nearly 45 percent), exceeding by more than double the similar group in the socialist countries (p 95). In the United States automation has increased worker differentiation significantly: a relatively small group of repair and tuning workers have triple the earnings of a large group of machine operators. A 3-month training period suffices for the majority (84 percent) of workers in U.S. automated production (p 93). An entirely different picture prevails in the socialist countries. Thus, in the USSR only 18 percent of workers in automated production do not require specialized technical training; 70 percent must complete a vocational-technical school and 12 percent a technicum (p 92). Such a significant disparity in educational requirements and skills of workers in automated production are explained by the fact that the U.S. companies try to strengthen partial automation and make remaining nonautomated operations as basic as possible and accessible to hastily trained workers (p 87).

Problems of enterprise equipment and technology cannot be considered separately from the organization of labor which entirely depends on the dominating production relations. It is precisely the differences between the socialist and capitalist methods of public production that explains why in countries with roughly similar levels of automation there are such great differences in social consequences and in the influence of all aspects of the worker production activities and his satisfaction with his job.

Despite the high rates of scientific and technical progress, "automation in the nonsocialist countries has not made substantial changes in the nature of the work of the "basic" workers, who account for the overwhelming majority of the employed population" (p 77). Such is the main result of an international study of the social consequences of automation.

The tables drawn up by the author will be frequently used by scientists in characterizing the social consequences of production automation under the conditions of the confrontation between the two global systems. However, it is impossible to consider the full data in a single book. That is why the author has limited herself to problems of the influence of automation on the cost and labor conditions of the workers. This has made it possible to make a

profound socioeconomic study of the basic problems formulated in the book. However, her desire to substantiate her concepts as fully as possible has led to the fact that figures predominate compared with their interpretation. Some important aspects have been neglected.

It is universally acknowledged that automation is the nucleus, the core of the scientific and technical revolution. However, this does not mean that the social consequences of automation can be considered separately from the other elements of the NTR. The NTR means the existence of radical, of global changes not only in the tools and means of production but also in the objects, the products of labor, and in managing the entire production process (not to mention radical changes in the nonproduction area). Automation is inseparable from chemization, the creation of wasteless production facilities and essentially new labor tools, and the application of the achievements of biotechnology. Naturally, a single work cannot cover all the social consequences of the NTR, for which reason the author has concentrated her attention on the consequences of automation. Unquestionably, however, the book would have benefited had she defined more clearly the position of the latter within the NTR system.

One of the three chapters discusses the role of automation under the changed working conditions of the workers. Unquestionably, this is a merit of the book, for such an important question is usually ignored in works on the social consequences of automation. The very concept of "labor conditions," however, is interpreted by the author quite narrowly and one-sidedly. She singles out two interrelated groups of labor conditions: ergonomic and sanitary-hygienic (p 104). Yet K. Marx considered labor conditions a socioeconomic category, which included the accumulated labor—tools, materials, means of existence and the person's actual labor (I, p 122). As the author of "Das Kapital" proved, labor conditions under capitalism are opposed to the worker (I, p 550). Marx considered the alienation of labor as the alienation of its conditions, as an antagonist contradiction between accumulated and live labor. Automation under capitalism can bring about partial improvements in the situation of the workers but is unable to free him from alienation and the oppression of exploitation. This is confirmed by the full amount of data collected in the course of this international study.

A major shortcoming in the book under review (as well as in a number of other works dealing with similar problems) is the one-sided view on the socialist worker as merely a participant in the production process. Yet real socialism creates increasingly favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual. A high level of education is needed not only for the successful performance of production functions (in the present and the future) but also for active participation in managing the affairs of one's labor collective and the entire society and engaging in scientific and technical creative work.

The social consequences of automation under socialism go far beyond the limits of the production process; furthermore, they cannot be comprehensively studied if limited merely to human production activities. It is precisely the fact that automation (as the NTR as a whole) is one of the decisive prerequisites for the establishment of a harmoniously developed individual. That is its

supreme objective under socialism and one of the basic advantages of the socialist way of life.

We cannot agree with V.V. Krevnevich's view that "the entire varied influence of automation is manifested above all in the changed content of labor" (p 49). The international study proved this, although the changes in the content (and also, which is significantly more important, the nature) of labor under socialism are considerably greater than under capitalism. Under socialism the influence of automation is comprehensive, for it is not limited merely to human production activities but contributes to shaping a truly universal worker, who can change labor and engage in physical and mental, performing and organizing activities.

Finally, the last but not least important consideration: the book brings to light a number of bottlenecks and contradictions in the application of automation in our country. We are still far from the creation of a comprehensive automated production system. However, the steps being taken today for enterprise technical retooling and reconstruction are considerably accelerating the pace of automation. Particularly important under these circumstances are recommendations and conclusions. Unfortunately, they are not to be found in the book. In conclusion, let us note the following: the shortcomings in this book are largely the result of the lack of coordination among the economists, philosophers, sociologists and psychologists who studied the consequences of the NTR.

As a whole, let us point out that this work will be very useful not only to scientists who, judging by the annotations, are its target, but also to the huge army of teachers in higher and secondary schools and propagandists in the political and economic education systems. It is regrettable that the work has been published in a miserably small edition (2,200 copies). We believe that Izdatelstvo Nauka should print a second mass edition of this interesting and necessary book.

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ETHNOSOCIOLOGY: OBJECTIVES, METHODS AND SOME STUDY RESULTS (Yu.V. ARUTYUNYAN, L.M. DROBIZHEVA, et al.)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 201-203

[Review by Ya.Z. Garipov of the work "Etnosotsiologiya: Tseli, Metody i Nekotoryye Rezultaty Issledovaniya," by Yu.V. Arutyunyan, L.M. Drobizheva, V.S. Kondratyev and A.A. Susokolov. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 255 pp]

[Text] Sociological studies of national relations are interdisciplinary. This means that sociologists must deal with virtually all problems of social life: improvements in the socioclass structure, dynamics of wellbeing, ways of spending non-working time, problems of family and population migration, and value orientations. The sensible question which arises here is the following: does such a range of problems indicate an aspiration of "encompassing what cannot be encompassed" and does it not lead to an actual lack of topic of ethnosociology? Indeed, it is hardly possible to set rigid limits which separate ethnosociology from related trends in sociological studies. However, the specific and integral nature of the particular ethnosociological theory define its area of interaction between ethnic and social aspects. This interaction is the methodological guideline used in this work.

This book is the product of many years of study conducted by the sector for specific sociological studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography imeni N.N. Miklukho-Maklay in various parts of the country, based on the program for "Optimizing Sociocultural Conditions for the Development and Rapprochement Among Nations in the USSR." Suffice it to say that the information array is based on data from the survey of more than 30,000 people. The main value of the study, however, is not the range of problems covered (obviously, the complete study of its results is a project for the future), but the summation of methodological problems of ethnosociology as an independent scientific discipline and the development of an apparatus of categories and methods for the study of national-ethnic problems.

How independent are ethnosociological studies from related areas in sociology? The answer to this question is complex.

The authors convincingly prove that ethnosociological studies are not reduced to the study of the traditional features of the way of life in the context of the national affiliation of the respondents. It is a question of a

significant intensification of concepts about the interconnection between the national and social features in contemporary social development and, in particular, updating the influence of national features in the culture and way of life of the people on socioeconomic processes. The consideration of national specifics in solving economic problems, such as the development of new economic sectors in various parts of the country, forecasting interregional shifts in manpower resources and many others, is becoming today a necessary prerequisite for the scientific management of society.

The main problem of ethnosociology is considered by the authors on the basis of the criterion of the optimal development of nations and national relations. "The problem situation, which was studied, was to determine the circumstances under which the development of nations does not lead to their alienation and rivalry but involves friendly and fruitful interaction," the book states (p 17). It is precisely this that determines the approach of the authors to the methodology and method of ethnosociological research. Let us consider the new features introduced in this area.

Unquestionably, the specialists will be interested in the sources of ethnosociological information (materials of all-union population censuses and current population records, statistical references, archive documents, etc.). The authors not only study the content of each source but also indicate the possibilities of its use in ethnosociology and draw attention on methodical "nuances" which arise in the use of a given source. They justifiably relate the more efficient use of the empirical base of ethnosociology to a comparison among data contained in various documents. This is possible only with the use of mathematical-statistical methods and computers in ethnosociological studies.

Ethnosociological surveys of the population have become widespread in recent years. They provide quite reliable objective and subjective data. The authors pay great attention to the principles governing the structure of a survey and to the organization of ethnosociological surveys and selection planning. They proceed from the existing differences in the sets of empirical indicators which cover various aspects of ethnic life: social structure of the population, traditional culture, ceremonies, and linguistic processes. The indicator blocks developed by the authors are of great practical value (pp 63-70).

The nationality and language of the interviewer are of substantial importance in the organization of an ethnosociological survey. Experience has indicated that in order to avoid systematic errors in obtained data, it is desirable for the nationalities of the interviewer and the respondent to coincide. Serious methodical problems arise also in organizing the selection of an ethnosociological study. Thus, for example, it is particularly important for the ethnosociologist to control the national composition of the selected group. Yet in a number of documents used in selecting objects of surveys and respondents no such data are present (such as electoral lists, enterprise files, etc.). Therefore, the part which describes the experience acquired in organizing a selection for a union-wide ethnosociological survey will be read with interest by sociologists. It is presented as a methodical guidance, without secondary computations and formulas.

The part on general methods for data analysis describes the new information they could provide in solving actual ethnosociological problems (p 124). The presentation of the means of analyzing cause and effect relationships and methods for multidimensional classification are a good aid in mastering the use of ethnosociological tools. Unfortunately, the data and means of finding latent variables are somewhat schematic. While pointing out that a graphic presentation helps the sociologist to single out "galaxies"—groups of most closely interrelated symptoms--the authors fail to provide explanations, limiting themselves merely to a description of the method (p 154).

The general description of results is a provides a study of methods used in ethnosociological studies. The authors formulate the main theoretical conclusions based on empirical studies conducted in the country, and note the most promising trends, which include a study of the influence of ethnic factors on population social mobility in areas with relatively homogeneous and mixed ethnic population structures, analysis of interaction among ethnic features of the way of life and population migration, forecasts of ethnic consequences of mixed marriages, study of the development of national self-awareness, correlation between social and national interests, etc. (pp 205-218).

Many concepts expressed in the book are arguable. In particular, we cannot agree with the claim that ethnosociology, like other areas of sociological knowledge, developed in our country in the second half of the 1960s-1970s (p 6). Sociologists had conducted a number of original studies of many ethnosociological problems as early as the 1920s-1930s. Scientific developments of that time are not of exclusively historical importance. The experience acquired by our predecessors is entirely applicable in solving contemporary problems. Unfortunately, the authors do not provide even a brief survey of this experience.

Ethnosociology is on the threshold of a new stage of development. Its purpose is to standardize research programs, ensure the extensive use of quantitative methods and computers and a fuller application of the systemic approach to the study of socioethnic processes, and upgrade the practical trend of empirical research. Unquestionably, this work will contribute to the implementation of these tasks.

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THE PHENOMENON OF HEROISM (D.A. VOLKOGONOV)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 203-204

[Review by A.S. Milovidov of the book "Fenomen Geroizma" by D.A. Volkogonov.
Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 264 pp]

[Text] The author proceeds from the fact that heroism is above all a sociomoral concept. For example, a murderer with the reputation of a "strong personality" cannot be a hero, and "pure" exclusivity cannot be a criterion of heroism. D.A. Volkogonov cites another convincing conclusion: the social nature of heroism is that it always represents action aimed at achieving progressive and socially significant objectives.

Each epoch has its specific types of heroism. The author is drawn above all to the heroism manifested in the revolutionary actions of the working people, in free labor and in defense of the socialist fatherland. The reader will encounter in the book thoughts on heroism as a specific means of social activeness, manifested in the form of a thrust or in ordinary daily work. The book convincingly substantiates the thesis that under socialism the blending of an individual exploit and initiative of individual labor groups with mass heroic actions is a distinguishing feature of heroism.

He firmly opposes the simplistic concept of heroism. A heroic action is not only noble but also harsh. It would be erroneous to deprive the heroism of soldiers of the highest possible drama and their spiritual condition of profound emotions and to fit the complex and conflicting interconnection among all aspects of awareness within a dry diagram or abstract formula. "In order to make a heroic choice, the power of the will, mind and feelings of the individual raised to the extreme and final limit of human possibilities are frequently needed" (p 40), along with readiness for self-sacrifice. The tragic death of a person for the sake of a lofty ideal does not trigger feelings of pessimistic despair but acquires the halo of moral beauty. An exploit is illuminated by the light of a great idea. This thought runs throughout the entire book. The readiness of a person for a heroic act is considered by the author as dependent on ideological convictions. It is precisely the latter that synthesize within a single entity all intellectual, moral and physical forces of a person. Yet, however great the role of the ideological component may be, it must mandatorily be embodied in a willful

action and supported by the high intensity of feelings. All of these are necessary components of decisive and immediate action. In this connection, the author is fully justified in rejecting the claim that the achievements of science and the technologization and intellectualization of life lower the significance of willful qualities, outstanding feelings, noble aspirations and lofty passions. Naturally, these circumstances must not be ignored. However, as in the past, the full feeling of life is impossible without dreams, passions, social activeness and profound emotional experiences.

The author discusses a number of problems of great interest from the viewpoint of education. It is a question, above all, of the correlation between heroic awareness and professional training. It is difficult today to commit an exploit without high professional skill. It is no accident that today, the author notes, the concept of "firm" and "brave" are inseparably related to those of "intelligent" and "knowledgeable." Citing clear and convincing facts, D.A. Volkogonov proves that knowledge, skill and experience occasionally not only support daring but also themselves become part of the heroic action. Naturally, the dependence of an exploit on knowledge has been noted in the past as well. Suvorov himself said that courage would be wasted unless it is based on art. In our time this situation has intensified. The influence of professional qualities on the molding of moral features has become more significant and comprehensive. The profound mastery of professional skills instills faith in victory and shapes in the person readiness for exploit.

We believe that the author's views on exploit as an inspiring example, in production or scientific activities or in military actions, will be of particular interest to the readers, and so will his thoughts on the heroic traditions such as support of humanistic ideals and objectives and the interconnection between social duty and personal wish. In discussing the latter problem the author quite justifiably relates it above all to self-education. Self-discipline, D.A. Volkogonov concludes, means conscience in action, a manifestation of the moral freedom of man and the ability to be the master of himself.

To the sociologist, the book is of interest for a number of reasons. The author firmly criticizes the theories of "elitism" and "leadership" which are popular in bourgeois sociology and are based on absolutizing the role of the individual, of the hero in history. The views of K. Olden, D. Carts, G. Jones, D. Kook and other Western theoreticians of the cult of the strong personality are analyzed through the lens of the crisis in the value-standard foundations of bourgeois mass culture. Although these topics are criticized in Soviet sociological literature, this is the first time in Soviet sociological publications that the phenomenon of pseudoheroization as a structural element of spiritual life in Western society is analyzed.

The other problem which could be of interest to the sociologist is related to the interpretation of the sociopsychological mechanism of human behavior in extreme situations. Going beyond the framework of "averaged" stereotypes of daily life and into above-normal situations, in which the moral imperatives of the individual are realized most fully is, strictly speaking, the area of heroic accomplishments, of the exploit. How to define such type of above-

standard actions? We believe the author is right by assuming that "heroism is a special form of human behavior, expressing to the highest extent a social activeness of progressive value (p 36).

The book will draw the attention of the readers not only with its presentation of topical problems but also its vivid style and linguistic accuracy. All of this substantially enhances the educational potential and practical value of this study.

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ETHICS OF SCIENCE. PHILOSOPHICAL-SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE CORRELATION
BETWEEN SCIENCE AND MORALITY (M.G. LAZAR)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 204-206

[Review by V.A. Kirsanov and N.I. Serbenko of the book "Etika Nauki. Filosofsko-Sotsiologicheskiye Aspekty Sootnosheniya Nauki i Morali," by M.G. Lazar. Leningrad University Press, Leningrad, 1985, 126 pp.

[Text] The publication of a work which studies the interrelationship between science and morality is a noteworthy event in Soviet science studies. This is the first monograph of this problem in our country. Some aspects of the science of ethics have been considered in the past either from the viewpoint of the moral responsibility of the scientist or as a result of sociological studies of scientific collectives or else strictly from the viewpoint of the study of science.

What precisely constitutes the subjective nature of science and gives it the features of a morally responsible quasipersonality, thus enabling us to correlate it with morality? In answering this question, the author draws the conclusion that one can make moral demands only on a subject who has a moral code (ethos) and is capable of creating it independently. The understanding of science as a type of spiritual production, a "factor of rational self-governing of social processes" is the foundation for clarifying the interrelationship between science and morality (p 9). Possibly, such an interpretation does not cover all subjective aspects of science. However, it is fruitful, for it enables us to abandon a one-sided practical approach. The author convincingly proves that in moral practice science acts as an equal moral subject. This enables it to demand of society respect for its values and principles and the creation of favorable conditions for its activities. However, this also leads to moral obligations of science toward the individual, society and mankind. The question of the moral responsibility of the scientist is exceptionally relevant and the author has all the right reasons for the insistence with which he tries to draw the attention of researchers to the study of moral practices in scientific activities.

In his view, a major shortcoming in ethical and sociological research is the absence of theories of the "average level" which could serve as a binding link between general ethical theory and specific moral practice. In terms of

scientific activities, the ethics of science must play this role. Its structure is a new aspect of the problem.

In the realm of scientific activities the author singles out the following components of ethical problems: 1. The ethics of scientific research, which deals with the attitude of the scientist toward the object of his work; 2. The ethics of scientific intercourse between contemporaries or between scientists of the present and the past (standards regulating scientific publications, quotes, polemics); 3. The ethics of relations in the management of scientific activities.

Whereas in the first three chapters the author draws up a general program of requirements in the area of scientific ethics, in the fourth and fifth chapters he undertakes its implementation. The combination of a general sociological approach with empirical data enables him to take a major step forward in this direction.

In analyzing the ethics of scientific research, the author draws attention to a number of topical problems. In particular, he reaches the conclusion that under contemporary conditions withdrawal from science is no longer a strictly personal matter. He touches upon the monopolizing of topics by some scientists and of unsuitable people in science (p 90). He analyzes in detail the moral aspects of coauthorship, reviews and expert evaluations, defense of ideas and the birth of a scientific school. He identifies the qualities of the scientific leader, which contribute to the appearance of such a school and the development of progressive forms of scientific cooperation or, conversely, which hinder the development of research. M.G. Lazar convincingly substantiates the expediency of adopting a "Regulation of the Status of the Scientific Worker and Scientific Research," in which basic moral, organizational, legal and other standards governing scientific research and penalties for their violation be formulated (p 91).

Naturally, to one extent or another, all of these problems have been considered previously as well. However, here the author displays a consistently scientific approach, which will be an new incentive for the further study of the moral aspects of activities of scientific collectives.

Let us note some shortcomings in the book. In discussing the specific nature of the moral responsibility of natural and social scientists, the author resorts to a patten and, naturally, the topic "remains hanging in the air." In analyzing negative phenomena in moral practices, he not define them with a single concept, which prevents him from formulating the basic rules governing moral behavior in science. As a result the ethicist risks remaining on the positions of the moralist, with the only difference that the moralist condemns vice while the ethicist condemns the principles on which vice is structured. In using the concept of "scientific value," the author includes in it only the objective and honest nature of the scientist. Yet the values of science, which are the core of its morality, deserve special attention. Obviously, the ethics of science must include the axiology of science.

In promoting the consistent combination of the gnosiological and sociological approaches to the ethics of science, the author starts from scratch,

neglecting the historical approach to the topic. Yet an ethical tradition has accompanied science ever since science appeared. Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, and Kant, not to mention the greatest scientists of our century, were also the makers of the ethics of science and the creators of its values and ideals. The ethical legacy of the past is tremendous and priceless. The history of ethical systems is a structural component of the ethics of science and cannot be ignored by the researcher.

M.G. Lazar raises a number of problems in his book but by no means does he considers all of them with the same thoroughness and depth. The style of the monograph is unnecessarily curt. There are inaccuracies and inept formulations. Thus, the author describes the views of Kant and Hegel as a reaction to the ideology of the Enlightenment (p 64) although it is precisely they that were the highest accomplishments of that age.

One of the characteristic features of contemporary social science is the appearance of a large number of social problems which can be successfully studied only with the help of an interdisciplinary approach in which sociology plays an integrating role. This book is a successful effort at developing related areas of social studies.

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CONTINUITY AND APPEARANCE OF NEW KNOWLEDGE IN SCIENCE (A.N. ANTONOV)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 206-207

[Review by Yu.B. Tatarinov of the book "Preyemstvennost i Vozniknoveniye Novogo Znaniya v Nauke" by A.N. Antonov. Moscow University Press, Moscow, 1985, 171 pp]

[Text] One of the main trends in the contemporary study of science is its consideration as a cultural-historical phenomenon, the gnosiological aspect of which is closely related to the social aspect. In turn, this calls for a comprehensive approach to the problems of the appearance of new knowledge. Whereas in the past culture was considered a background for scientific activities, determining no more than a few of the external parameters of science, today it is considered a most important dominant in scientific traditions, new ideas, research strategy and programs. This approach has been systematically followed in the monograph under review.

We must also point out that this book is quite timely right now, when even strictly theoretical sociophilosophical problems of the origination and adequate perception of new knowledge have assumed a clearly manifested practical trend.

The author uses cultural-historical tradition as the basic methodological concept in the study of the complex processes developing in science. In this approach, tradition becomes not only a system which has accumulated the social and scientific experience of the past and a means of transmitting cultural legacy but also one which triggers new knowledge and is determined by internal and external postulates. The author introduces the concept of the subject of traditional activities and their results, which act as a starting point for further innovative activities of society, including scientific society (pp 27-33). Therefore, the attention of the reader is drawn to the cognitive component of cultural-historical tradition, i.e., to cognitive activities carried out within the context of specific social relations.

In considering the problem of the appearance of scientific knowledge, A.N. Antonov, naturally, does not stop at a basic concept such as novelty. He uses the definition of this criterion, familiar to philosophical literature, which logically becomes part of the author's concept "in the guise of result, degree

and stage of development of scientific activities within the limits of scientific tradition as an originating system" (p 30).

Aspects of the work in which the author considers the new forms of organization of scientific activities, which lead to the appearance of science as a social institution, are of particular interest. In particular, he turns to the content of the statutes of the first academies which were created in Western Europe in the 17th century. In addition to the widespread nature of experimentation and observation as methods for the development of empirical natural sciences, at that time theoretical elaborations appeared, which played a major role in "structuring the social organization of science and its individual disciplines" (p 61). The author indicates that as capitalism developed, the form in which scientific results were recorded changed as well: monographs were replaced by a drastic increase in the number of journal publications, which proved the intensive specialization of science and the fast growth of scientific cadres. An essentially new form of organization of scientific activities--scientific research institutes--appeared. The transformation of scientific activities into a profession completed the development of science as an independent social institution.

The main part of the book deals with the study of scientific tradition--one of the forms of continuity and appearance of new knowledge. "...Tradition, as an originating system, could be defined as purposeful developing activity by the scientific society, guided...by a specific program which contains, overtly or covertly, the initial target stipulations of this community" (p 79). The author includes in such communities, above all, the scientific school, the discipline and the scientific trend. He analyzes thoroughly and profoundly the concept of scientific research program: its structure, conditions of origin, development and end. The author repeatedly emphasizes the significance of continuity in structuring and developing a program and the role of the novelty of ideas and methods. Noteworthy are his views on the features of the appearance of new knowledge in the humanities and the typology of their characteristic programs directed toward understanding and interpreting social reality (p 105).

The shortcomings in the monograph are related to the use of the "expanded" concept of cultural-historical tradition. We agree that the latter plays a constructive, a heuristic role in the development of new knowledge obtained logically. Scientific studies and achievements based on "mad" ideas, which demand a new style of thinking, the use of essentially different research methods, etc. can be obtained only outside the traditional framework of scientific programs and standards, existing category systems, "paradigms," etc. Furthermore, the history of science is familiar with a number of cases in which scientific traditions have "bound" the researchers, which has hindered and slowed down the cognitive process. Unfortunately, the author has not paid sufficient attention to these aspects of the problem, as a result of which some concepts in the monograph become arguable. Obviously, he should have considered in greater detail the mechanism of the genesis of new knowledge on the basis of the physical sciences as well. We must also point out the inaccurate presentation of the "principle of consistency" (p 77). The author interprets this principle as a kind of continuity which has a social

foundation and is typical of cultural-historical tradition; in our view, this principle is essentially of a gnosiological nature.

In assessing A.N. Antonov's monograph as a whole, let us note that it is distinguished by a high professional standard, a great deal of information and novelty of approach to the most important problems of the social determination and continuity of new knowledge. The relevance of the problems and the comprehensive approach adopted in their consideration and use of extensive natural scientific and cultural-historical data make this monograph a successful attempt at dealing with understudied and theoretically and practically promising problems. We believe that the book will draw the attention of philosophers and sociologists. To the latter, it will be a methodological foundation for the comprehensive study of the influence of sociocognitive factors on upgrading the efficiency and quality of scientific research under the conditions of the conversion of science to intensive development.

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**HOW TO CONDUCT SOCIALIST RESEARCH: AN AID FOR THE SOCIOLOGICAL AKTIV
(M.K. GORSHKOVA, ed.)**

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 208-209

[Review by N.M. Blinov of the book "Kak Provesti Sotsialisticheskoye [sic] Issledovaniye. V Pomoshch Ideologicheskomu Aktivu." M.K. Gorshkov and F.E. Sherega, editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 223 pp]

[Text] Arguments on the scientific and practical expediency of applied sociology have long become part of history. Today no one is surprised by a survey, the purpose of which is to determine opinions, evaluations and concepts of different population strata. Sociological studies have become a mandatory component of the daily activities of the large army of plant sociologists and of sociological services which have been set up in recent years by oblast and republic CPSU and Komsomol committees.

It is no secret to anyone that the majority of today's sociologists have no basic training and are forced to study by themselves the methods of applied research, with books which published over the past 15 years. These are the only works on which managers who try to learn the basics of applied sociology can rely in order to be able professionally to issue assignments to research services and efficiently apply the results of sociological studies in management practices. To what books are we referring? Above all, the works of A.G. Zdravomyslov and V.A. Yadov, and the lecture course edited by G.M. Andreyeva, which were printed in editions of 10,000 to 15,000 copies and have become bibliographic rarities, as well as two editions of the "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" [The Sociologist's Work Book] (G.V. Osipov, responsible editor), for those who have already mastered the foundations of applied sociology.

Method aids must be published in large editions in order to upgrade the sociological knowledge of researchers and increase sectorial specialization of practical workers. The book under review meets these conditions. This is the first aid published in our country on the method, techniques and organization of sociological studies, specifically aimed at the ideological aktiv. The merits of this book are its compactness, clear structure and good literary style. It consists of 16 parts with an appendix in which a specific example (study of the condition of production discipline) is used to consider the principles of drafting a research program and the method instruments, problems of planning and conducting a sociological survey. Furthermore, the authors

have been able to present in a novel way seemingly well studied problems, such as the elaboration of a methodical set of instruments for gathering sociological data and their systematic use in the practice of ideological work. Particular attention has been paid to the practical application of concepts: the procedure is not simply an analytical breakdown of the object of knowledge into structural elements but a process of elaboration of a logical-semantic model of the social phenomenon (process) under study, which assumes that a materialized form through the tools used to gather the information (investigation, interview form, etc.). Therefore, drafting a survey is not an arbitrary procedure. It is not an assembly of problems covering "all cases in life," but a structure obeying a single logic, called upon to provide an integral picture of the phenomenon under study. The authors identify quite aptly the individual problems within a survey, using a rating scale and describing the laws for converting from a logic-semantic to a quantitative model of the target of sociological analysis. This is the first book on sociology in which problems of the theory of measurement are considered in close connection with the instrument used for such measuring and in which methods are presented in detail, such as surveys by mail and telephone interviews. The book provides a mathematical apparatus in a volume adequate for practical application.

The broad ideological aktiv now has a book suitable for training and as a manual in the organization of applied sociological research. However, the relatively narrow range offered to the readers has led to a certain limitation of problems, methods and examples quoted. The work does not include methods for the study of audiences through mass communications media, the breakdown and structure of leisure time, and the readership interest; there is no systematic presentation of methods for building a scale for measuring concepts or sociometric examples for the study of the sociopsychological climate in the collectives, and techniques for surveys of public opinion, which are extensively used by party and Komsomol committees. Clearly, the detailed presentation of these problems will require separate works.

Let us note in conclusion that this book meets its purpose by contributing to enhancing the level of sociological knowledge in the country.

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REVIEWER'S OBJECTIVITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) p 209

[Letter to the editors by Professor V.A. Yadov, Leningrad]

[Text] To the editors: I was amazed to read the review of the book by Ye.N. Gurko "Empiricheskoye i Teoreticheskoye v Sotsiologicheskoye Issledovanii" [Empirical and Theoretical Aspects of Sociological Research] (Minsk, 1984), published in issue No 4 for 1985. The point is that I reviewed this work in manuscript form and recommended it for publication with a clear conscience. It has shortcomings but also very important merits: the author analyzes a serious and complex problem (which, in itself, demands a great deal of scientific courage) and substantiates his viewpoint on the difference between general philosophical-sociological theory and specialized sociological disciplines. In all likelihood, many social scientists disagree with the views held by Ye.N. Gurko. Today, however, we need works which trigger discussions and searches and stimulate research thinking. One could and should argue with them. However, this should be done in the interests of truth rather than of "putting the author in his place." In my view, A.N. Komozin is wrong when he pits the position held by the author of this book to the axioms of Marxist sociology, blaming Gurko for paying attention to the formal aspect of the matter, eliminating dialectics "from the cutting edge" of sociological research and giving priority to the formal-logical noncontradictoriness of refined concepts. It seems to me that the desire for formal-logical strictness and provability does not contradict dialectics in the least.

Furthermore, the review stipulates that the author is reproducing the old philosophical illusion "according to which the essential and the general (unlike the phenomenon and the individual) could coexist only in the manner of theoretical abstractions" (p 193). The author does not claim anything of the sort but proves that the essence is reflected in abstractions and, consequently, that social processes cannot be expressed in physical-sensory terms.

Without going into details, let me say that the work by Ye.N. Gurko deserves a more objective analysis in this the most prestigious sociological journal in the country. It is very regrettable that the reviewer has missed the main

idea in the book, that a theoretical analysis is part of all levels of a sociological study. In my view, the book substantially advances one of the most difficult problems of the methodology of sociological research and deserves a positive evaluation.

From the editors: The editors studied the letter of V.A. Yadov, published here, and that of Ye.N. Gurko, the book's author, and decided that the review indeed included insufficiently substantiated critical assessments. This applies, above all, to pitting the author's view against Marxist sociology (p 192) and charges of removing dialectics "from the cutting edge" of sociological research (p 194). The other critical remarks formulated by A.N. Komozin do not exceed the limits of a scientific debate, the more so since the review includes the following stipulation: "Bearing in mind the debatable nature of the problems under consideration, we do not lay a claim to the absolute rightness of the views expressed here.... The reviewed monograph stimulates scientific thinking and forces the researcher to refine his own views concerning basic problems of sociology. This alone positively characterizes the book by Ye.N. Gurko" (p 195).

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THE U.S. SERVICE INDUSTRY: NEW PHENOMENA AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES (V.M. USOSKIN, ed.)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
(signed to press 25 Apr 86) pp 210-211

[Review by A.V. Telyukov of the book "Sfera Uslug v SShA: Novyye Yavleniya i Strukturnyye Sdvigi." V.M. Usoskin and L.S. Demidova, responsible editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1985, 303 pp]

[Text] The study of service sectors undertaken in the monograph, based on U.S. data, includes a description of many aspects of development of the entire capitalist economy. This is no accident. The service industry is a huge intersectorial complex. The work substantiates the idea of "equal status" of material production and services, indicating their profound internal unity and interdependence.

Drawing on extensive data, the authors trace the trend of concentration of production and monopolizing of capital in the service sectors. They analyze in detail the problem of assessing the efficiency of their development and identify the specific trends in upgrading the quality of services.

An unquestionable merit of the monograph is the methodologically accurate study of data. The assessment of the American experience is based on the Marxist understanding of the decisive influence which specific social conditions governing the functioning of production forces have on social reproduction. This approach has enable the authors to bring to light and clearly to illustrate the contradiction between economically efficient forms of utilization of major resources available to the U.S. service sectors, on the one hand, and the durability of grave social problems, triggered by the inaccessibility of many types of services to the broad population strata, on the other.

The evaluation of the crisis phenomena of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s is of particular interest. During that period services gradually lost their amortizing impact on cyclical economic processes. Furthermore, the instability of the production of services, violations of the price-setting mechanism, the relative narrowing of demand for manpower, which developed synchronically with similar processes in other sectors, enable us to point out that crisis phenomena in the service area aggravated the social contradictions within American society. This conclusion is important not only from the

political economic viewpoint but also as proof of the main methodological thesis of the close interdependence between service and material production sectors.

While suitably acknowledging the economic problems discussed in the monograph, let us also note the systematically pursued sociological approach and the view on the sector (or set of sectors!) as an area of reproduction of the capitalist way of life with its inherent ideological and sociopolitical concepts and institutions. The authors convincingly prove the contradictory nature of the influence of the ideological aspirations of bourgeois society on the social efficiency of services. Considerations of "social prophylaxis" encouraged the enterprises to protect health and the environment, to improve working and recreation conditions and to broaden social assistance. Meanwhile, however, there is a purposeful support of antidemocratic traditions which, in education and health care for example, frequently develop into open segregation. Thus, the existing mechanism for school financing predetermines the significant (frequently triple) gap in the level of expenditures per student among schools in areas with different social population structures (p 187). According to a 1979 survey, in the highest-income group of American families, 51 percent of the children attended colleges and universities, compared to about 12 percent in the group of the relatively poor (p 292).

A picture of sharp social inequality in the study of the contemporary status of American health care. The share of people suffering from chronic diseases is significantly higher (quadruple) in low-income families compared to high-income families. The reasons for this situation are rooted in the unsatisfactory housing conditions of poor families, poor nutrition and limited recreation opportunities. The narrow range of treatment and prophylactic measures also plays a certain role in this respect: in 1982 there were 23 million people in the United States belonging essentially to the poorest social groups, without private health insurance and not covered by state medical programs (pp 208, 293).

Judging by the data cited in the monograph, "social selectivity" and, simply put, discrimination against poor population strata have been established in the credit-financial and juridical services, the accessibility to which is rigidly limited by increasing property qualifications.

The original turn in the study of the U.S. service industry is the economic analysis of its activities interrelated with the ideological realities of capitalist society. The service sectors are described from a nontraditional aspect: as an important structural component of the system of mass consumption and of molding a bourgeois-oriented mass consciousness. The ideological-propagandist underlining of the capitalist services deforms the content and quality of services in the areas of education, culture and recreation and hinders the harmonious spiritual development of the people; conversely, it contributes to encouraging most questionable tastes and inclinations. This is exemplified by the profits running into the billions in the gambling business in the United States, which is unrestrainably broadening against the background of the reduction of the overall number of cultural-entertainment enterprises in the country. Also noteworthy is the exaggerated development of services which are part of the "gentleman's set" of socially prestigious types

of consumption. Deliberate ideological "shortcuts," and the aspiration of developing from the service area a showy facade of bourgeois society and subordinating to the canons of mass culture and mass consumption are taking away resources needed for meeting the most urgent needs pertaining to the most vital interests of the broad population strata and lower the end social result of economic activities in the service sectors.

The data used in this study lead to another important summation, which, it seems to us, the authors have not taken fully into consideration. The socially unseemly policy of distribution of services worsens the economic indicators in the development of the respective sectors. The functioning of service institutions only for the poor leads to preserving within them a backward material and technical base and underproductive labor which does not attain its potential social effect. At the same time, fashionable services for the elite are growing. The concentration of expensive equipment such services own remains underutilized and frequently idle. This lowers capital returns and the economic efficiency of the sector as a whole. Therefore, the separation of consumers into two parts based on material wellbeing leads to the definitive degeneracy of the "inexpensive" area of services and prevents the remaining institutions and enterprises from being properly interested in upgrading the technical and organization standards of their activities as a result of low cost recovery. Objectively, the grave social inequality in the level and quality of consumption of services inherent in capitalism, hinders the development of services as a sector of economic activities.

The absence in the monograph of a section dealing with the housing-communal complex is hard to explain. In terms of the volume of its services it holds a leading position in the American service industry and accounts for about one quarter of the individual consumption expenditures of the population. The study of the socially conflicting picture of the development of the U.S. service industry is quite incomplete without the consideration of the housing problem, which is one of the most acute in the United States on a national scale.

This monograph will be of interest to economists and sociologists. It is a worthy continuation of the tradition set by Ye.A. Gromov, S.M. Zagladina and other Soviet scientists, who developed within the USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO a prestigious school of research on the theory and practice of the development of the service sphere in capitalist countries.

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RELIGION IN U.S. POLITICAL LIFE (1970's - BEGINNING OF 1980's) (Yu.A. ZAMOSHKIN, ed.)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 86
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[Review by A.M. Salmin of the book "Religiya v Politicheskoy Zhizni SShA." The 1970s and start of the 1980s. Yu.A. Zamoshkin and D.Ye. Furman, responsible editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1985, 224 pp]

[Text] The significant role which religion plays in U.S. political life is an obvious fact. Events of the past 20 years prove the latest enhancement of the processes occurring in this area and their intensified influence on politics. Religion and everything related to it are currently drawing the close attention of American sociologists and specialists in public opinion problems. All of this offers contemporary researchers of this problem some advantages which have been fully used by the authors of this collective monograph drafted by the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute. This book, which deals with the interrelationship between religion and politics in the United States (up to 1984/1985) is saturated with good, thoroughly selected and profoundly interpreted information.

The authors set themselves the objective of determining the precise way in which religion becomes woven into the fabric of present political processes and of considering the specific nature of the influence on such processes of the most influential faiths: Protestantism, Roman Catholicism and Judaism and Eastern trends which have lately become popular. This is a complex task. Under the conditions of the organizationally shaped religious pluralism typical of the United States, any political conflict triggers different and frequently unexpected reactions on the part of church organizations and their leaders. Understanding this variegated picture is possible only with a detailed study of the historical aspects of the development and current status of the religious-political conglomerate, which is what American society is.

The intent of the monograph's authors was formulated by Yu.A. Zamoshkin in the preface: the contradictoriness of religious processes does not mean that they do not obey certain laws or have no inner logic. The difficulty is that "this logic is not on the surface and that the laws governing the political role of churches in the United States demand a special study and could be identified only as a result of special studies" (p 3). Each one of the four chapters in the book is such a "special study."

The most influential in the United States are Protestant churches and movements, which fully justifies the fact that it is precisely with them that the authors begin their interpretation of the main religious trends in the country.

The predominance of liberal churches and liberal forces changed after the 1970s with the strengthening of orthodox (Protestant above all) groups, holding extreme rightwing political views. Symptoms of increased activeness by the liberal camp began to appear in the first half of the 1980s. This closed the cycle. However, the current picture of religious-political life is basically different from that in the past. Not only problems around which the struggle is being waged have changed and not only have the forms and methods of the struggle changed but its participants as well. Compared with their predecessors, the religious liberals and religious conservatives of the beginning of the 1980s were new people with an outlook of an entirely different nature. During the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the liberal Protestant churches, which headed at that time the general movement for a "renovation" of religious life, found themselves in a virtual dead end street. Many of the parishioners actually do not believe in God and little of the Christian ideas and symbols has been retained by them; in all areas--from family to economics and attitude toward the racial problem and to education--they rejected traditional dogmas and prejudices, creating new "liberal" and "progressive" ones. In this sense, D.Ye. Furman, author of the first chapter, points out, the conservative reaction which began at the end of the 1970s, played an important sobering and cleansing role. The book convincingly proves that during the period of reaction the process of the adoption by the mass consciousness of many ideas and principles which were previously considered specifically liberal and are now becoming simply universally accepted and general, continued and even intensified. The irreversible nature of the process of accepting basic "liberal" values is most clearly seen in the ideology of the new rightwing church. Its leader, Jerry Falwell, and his followers assume an extremely reactionary position in American policy. However, comparing their statements with those of the old leaders of the ultra-orthodox Protestants, we can see that a number of traditional standards and principles have been rejected silently and without any formal review, whereas a number of others, once considered almost leftwing radical, have been adopted equally silently.

In this light, the following question is pertinent: if church liberalization has gone so far whereas reaction to it has been virtually reduced to consolidating "achievements" while neutralizing (possibly for a time) the most hateful consequences of the radical reforms, is there in general in American religious life any kind of line separating the possible from the impossible and the admissible from the inadmissible, whatever the circumstances? Or else, is this line flexible and conventional, as is the line which separates liberalism from conservatism in the realm of "pure" politics?

The book provides no straight answer to this question. Obviously, no such answer is possible, at least in terms of all religious trends in the country. What is unquestionably, however, is that the "relativism" of Protestant awareness (possibly of some of its varieties only), convincingly proved in the book, cannot be used here as a standard. A certain temptation to consider it

as a model of religious consciousness, actually, does exist, since in the chapter on the development of American Protestantism we also find a discussion of the most general trends of development of religious faith in the United States.

S.B. Filatov, who wrote the next chapter, notes that at the beginning of the 1980s Roman Catholicism had definitively become part of American church and sociopolitical life and a "normal" and entirely respectable religion. The anti-Catholicism, which was so typical of the United States at the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, has disappeared forever. The Roman Catholic church, according to the author, enjoys today a certain moral authority not only among its faithful but among the entire U.S. population. The feature of today's Roman Catholic position is the combination of socioeconomic and foreign policy liberalism with moral conservatism. The ideological incompatibility of Roman Catholicism with the conservative and liberal camps puts it in a special position among religious and political currents. This circumstance has its reverse aspect as well: the position of the church weakens the polarization of society and, according to Filatov's hypothesis, contributes to the formation of marginal groups between liberals and conservatives.

In analyzing the role of Judaism in U.S. political life, the monograph authors take the readers into problems which have been studied little in Soviet literature. They note that in the United States, more than any other religion, Judaism bears the imprint of American society, which has modified the awareness of the Jewish immigrants and their faith. In particular, the "return" to Judaism, which was noted in the 1950s and beginning of 1960s, was related above all to the pressure exerted by American society, in which religious pluralism has always been coupled with intolerance of godlessness.

In the 1960s and, particularly, the 1970s, despite the universal aspiration of American Jews to remain an ethnic community, the dam erected on the path of assimilation was breached. This natural process is a source of the present crisis in U.S. Judaism, for the principle on which the religious, ethnic and political outlook of American Jewish bourgeois and intellectuals is based is adaptation without assimilation. That is why a drastic intensification of ideological conflicts characterizes Judaism today in all of its areas.

The monograph raises the exceptionally interesting question of the reasons for the growing influence of the so-called "nontraditional religions" in the United States--Hinduism and Buddhism. We know that a similar situation has developed not only in the United States but in virtually all Western countries. The answer which the author of this part of the work, B.Z. Falikov, suggests, is that under American conditions, in which religious faith is considered an inseparable element of life, loss of faith in Christian or Judaic dogmas leads to increased quest for a conceptual alternative. One of the most important features of Hinduism and Buddhism, which explain their popularity as such an alternative is, in the view of the author, the fact that these are religions "without God." Furthermore, under contemporary conditions, when the growth of human power is becoming increasingly apparent and the results of this growth increasingly frightening, the "cyclical" perception of history, characteristic of the Hinduist-Buddhist tradition,

promises a certain alleviation and turns into a kind of optimism. Considering the scarcity of data on the influence of "nontraditional religions" in the United States, these views expressed by the author may be considered an interesting hypothesis which needs investigating. What is unquestionable, for the time being, is only that Buddhism and Hinduism are attracting people in whose consciousness traditional moral standards have been particularly weakened. This is confirmed, among others, by data of sociological surveys, which prove that "religious experimenters" have abandoned the traditional moral values not only more than the "religious liberals" had (not to speak of the "conservatives"), but have also gone farther than nonbelieving respondents.

The book draws attention to the fact that participation in Eastern religious movements does not mandatorily lead to quietism and social passiveness. The studies made among supporters of Eastern religions uncontroversially proved that they hold liberal view and that in the political sense are more to the "left" than even nonbelieving Americans (pp 200, 220). The author of this chapter justifiably points out that the dissemination of Hinduism and Buddhism in the United States is a direct consequence of most profound changes affecting the foundations of the American outlook. Equally right, however, is the following: the changes which are being made in the United States in Eastern religions confirm the preserved strength of an outlook which, as it reworks alien faiths, ascribes an unexpected activism to the Hinduist and Buddhist "alienation from the world."

By no means are all aspects of the problem covered with equal thoroughness in the book. This is acknowledged by the authors themselves, who note that they could have adopted a special approach "to the individual Protestant churches... and discuss most important problems, such as the role of religion in the movements of American blacks, chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Indians; or the role of religion in the political activeness of the various immigrant communities" (p 224). The authors have not considered a number of "nontraditional religions," Islam in particular. Yet in recent decades Islam has assumed noticeable influence among black Americans, particularly in connection with the "Islamic revival" in the Moslem world. Such gaps are hardly justified.

Furthermore, the authors merely indicate but, unfortunately, do not develop a problem of great methodological importance: how, through what type of mechanism is the influence of "dogmata in which people have believed for centuries, remain as special customs and concepts they have triggered, even after religious faith has been lost..." (p 224)?

In some aspects, the study of the religious-political situation in the United States appears rather isolated and unjustifiably self-sufficient. Naturally, it would be unrealistic to demand of the authors broad international comparisons. However, individual concepts of the general and specific features of the religious nature of the Americans would appear more convincing when compared with situations in other countries. An example of such a limitation--this time applicable to the United States itself--is the description of the 1976, 1980 and 1984 presidential elections primarily (and,

in our view, not always justifiably) through the lens of processes occurring in religious life.

As a whole, however, this monograph is unquestionably successful, both in its overall aspect as a study and in each separate chapter. The book will be of interest not only to students of religion or Americanists. It will be read with interest by sociologists, historians and social scientists in other areas.

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METHODOLOGICAL CRISIS IN CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY (V.V. TANCHER)

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[Review by A.N. Vereshchagin and L.G. Ionin of the book "Metodologicheskiiy Krizis Sovremennoy Burzhuanoy Sotsiologii," by V.V. Tancher. Naukova Dumka, Kiev, 1985, 184 pp]

[Text] The book by V.V. Tancher provides a critical study of the theoretical-methodological foundations of structural functionalism, the concept of "social exchange," sociobiology, symbolic interactionism, phenomenological sociology, "critical" sociology, conflictology, and others. This broad scope helps the author to trace the development of American sociological thinking from the end of the 1960s to the mid-1980s.

It is as though the theoretical concepts of bourgeois sociologists are passed through a variety of "filters." To begin with, Tancher singles out the common symptoms of the methodological crisis: the polyparadigmatic nature of sociological thinking, the lack of a universally accepted sociological theory, the "fluctuating" nature in the development of social consciousness and its antithetic structure and disappointment in a possible "humanistic transformation" of sociological knowledge (pp 34-35). Secondly, he considers the essential characteristics of the methodological crisis, which are the same in all areas: the dichotomy of naturalistic objectivism and subjectivistic anthropologism, a revival of evolutionistic ideas in American sociology, indeterminism, and substitution of changing "theoretical orientations" for the historical process. The level of critical analysis then becomes deeper. It is based on the already determined dualism of the positivistic-naturalistic orientation and the "humanistic" (anthropological) orientation. The former is accepted by the supporters of structural-functional analysis, the "social exchange" theory, the behaviorists, and "analytical conflictologists;" the latter, by symbolic interactionists, phenomenologists and "reflexive" and existentialist sociologists. With the help of specific examples the author describes the one-sidedness of said orientations and considers their dependence on the opposite orientation within the framework of a fictitious dilemma ("naturalism-humanism" and "objectivism-subjectivism").

We believe particularly important the critical study of the key concepts in contemporary American sociology: "social system," "social relation," and

"social institution." According to Tancher, the conceptualization of social reality by bourgeois sociologists is "inadequate." "...The conceptual-categorical apparatus of bourgeois theoretical sociology offers a conflicting multiple-level picture," he writes. "Its fluctuations between naturalism and subjectivism predetermine the use of the language of positivistic apriorism or psychologizing phenomenologism which equally prevent the painting of an adequate picture of social reality" (p 129).

On the basis of extensive bibliography (about 130 books, mainly in English), the author points out the existence of a crisis in the theoretical-methodological foundations of contemporary bourgeois sociology. (We shall not discuss the question of the extent to which one could judge of the methodological crisis of all bourgeois sociology merely on the basis of works by American authors.) The crisis situation in sociological theory is manifested on different levels of the study which, combined with the broad scope of the topic, gives an impression of exhaustive completeness of the study. However, after reading the book a feeling of dissatisfaction, precisely related to the completeness of the study, remains. This evaluation may seem unexpected. Let us explain our view. Essentially, the book is a good analytical survey, conducted in a critical sense, although both by intent and form it is a scientific monograph. Tancher's work is clearly short of the presentation of problems which would enable us, alongside methodological faults and omissions of bourgeois sociologists, to show their accomplishments as well. In our view, such accomplishments are found above all in the formulation of theoretical problems which, as we know, reflect the real complexity of the process of social knowledge. We believe that a critical analysis of the methodological foundations of U.S. sociology, carried out by V.V. Tancher, could have been significantly more constructive and the book more meaningful had the criticism been conducted in the interest of developing and intensifying sociological knowledge. At that point it would have been unnecessary to prove something already known (for example, saying that the conceptualization of social reality by bourgeois sociologists is "inadequate" essentially amounts to saying nothing).

It is only when the author abandons superficial criticism that his conclusions become interesting and meaningful. This applies to his critical analysis of the concept of "social system" of T. Parsons (pp 84-85), or the study of E. Fromm's work "To Have or To Be?" (pp 175-178), or else the characterization of the views of A. Gouldner and T. Bottomor.

It would be simplistic to assess a work of science without a consideration of the author's objective. We must take into consideration that the book is part of the "Problems of Ideological Work and Counterpropaganda" series and is aimed at a broad readership, the ideological aktiv in particular. In this connection, it is consistent with ideological and scientific requirements and, unquestionably, will be positively welcomed by both specialists and anyone in contemporary bourgeois sociology.

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FROM FREUD TO HEIDEGGER (A.M. RUTKEVICH)

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[Review by V.M. Leybin of the book "Ot Freyda k Khaydeggeru," by A.M. Rutkevich. A critical essay of existential psychoanalysis. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 175 pp]

[Text] At a first glance, the book under consideration is not a sociological work. It rather pertains to the realm of social philosophy, for it is above all a critical analysis of Western bourgeois concepts, within which are reflected efforts to combine within a single entity philosophical ideas of a phenomenological-existential nature with psychoanalysis.

The readers of this journal may ask the following: is it expedient to review this work in this particular journal? To anticipate an overall assessment of the book, let me answer this question immediately. The point is that the monograph affects topical problems which are of an exceptional interest to sociologists who work in the area where different sectors of scientific knowledge intersect.

This particularly applies to the discussion of social factors which contribute to the popularization of psychoanalysis in the Western world. The number of individuals suffering from neurotic diseases is increasing in the capitalist countries. Thus, according to a study made by the National Institute of Mental Health (1978-1984), 18.7 percent of the U.S. adult population suffers from mental disturbances: about 8.3 percent of those surveyed are subject to causeless fears; in 6.4 percent of the population mental disturbances are related to the abuse of alcohol and drugs; about 1 percent of Americans are schizophrenic (p 8). Hence the legitimate interest in psychoanalysis as one of the varieties of clinical practice.

However, the spreading of psychoanalysis is related not to this circumstance alone. The point is that psychoanalysis is an intrinsic part of Western culture. The philosophy of psychoanalysis is an effort to explain the place and role of man in the capitalist production and consumption system and the mechanism for freeing the minds from suppressed wishes and the importance of psychological factors in establishing interpersonal relations. In discussing the reasons for the popularization of psychoanalysis in the West, the author

draws particular attention to social factors. He quotes sociological works and, in particular, those of the American scientist P. Berger (1).

A.M. Rutkevich has paid a great deal of attention to problems related to the critical interpretation of Freud's psychoanalytical theory of man, Husserl's phenomenology, Heidegger's "existential analysis" and "existential psychoanalysis." Emphasizing that pitting the natural against the cultural factors is common to psychoanalysis and the "philosophy of life," the author formulates the stipulation according to which Nietzschean philosophy was one of the ideological sources of the appearance of the psychoanalytical theory of man (pp 15-16). One of the merits of this book is the exposure of contradictions between the theory and practices of psychoanalysis and of the history of the appearance of "existential psychoanalysis" as a result of the adaptation of psychoanalytical practices to the basic concepts of phenomenological psychology and the existential theory of man, and the thorough consideration of Husserl's phenomenology and Heidegger's ontology. For the first time in domestic publications the concepts of L. Binswanger, M. Boss and W. Frankel are described in detail. Essentially, this is the first work in Marxist literature especially dealing with the critical study of the philosophical views of Western existential psychiatrists.

However, the book is not free from shortcomings. Thus, against the background of the brief description of Freudian philosophical anthropology (pp 12-22), the study of Heidegger's "existential analysis" is excessively long (pp 37-58). Naturally, Heidegger's philosophy is one of the most complex theories of the 20th century and the desire of the author to analyze it in detail is understandable. However, it was hardly worth it to discuss the fine points and nuances related to Heidegger's interpretation of "co-being" and "co-now-being" (p 47) or his view on the "historicity" of existence (pp 55-56) for this is quite unrelated to the study of the essences of "existential psychoanalysis." Furthermore, works have been published in domestic publications which thoroughly analyze various aspects of Heidegger's philosophical doctrine. It would have been sufficient, therefore, to refer the readers to the respective publications.

Here is another remark. In criticizing M. Boss "existential analysis" with proper arguments, the author accuses this psychiatrist for allegedly finding himself in a "vicious circle" in considering the interconnection between social and personality structures: according to him, the way of looking at the world determines the social way of life and the social way of life (through the family) determines the individual's view of the world (p 152). However, this is not the result of a logical error or improper theoretical views held by M. Boss. On the contrary, here he is consistent, for he supports Heidegger's views concerning the "hermeneutic circle," according to which any interpretation proceeds from an understanding of what should be interpreted. According to Heidegger, one should not aspire to break this "hermeneutic circle" but, conversely, "enter" into it, for this "entry" helps to penetrate into the depth of human life. In this sense, Boss fully shares Heidegger's methodological stipulations. The fact that, like Heidegger, he rejects the achievements of scientific and technical progress, considering them responsible for the destruction of man's inner world, instead of thoroughly

studying the socioeconomic problems of contemporary bourgeois society, is something else.

Freudian views on the individual have been frequently discussed in domestic literature. In particular, a comparative study has been made between his theory and Sartre's "existential psychoanalysis" (2). However, so far there has been no study of psychoanalytical philosophy with all of its ontological, gnosiological, axiological and sociopolitical aspects. We believe that this work should have gone beyond the framework of interpreting Freud's theory of man and turned to psychoanalytical philosophy as whole. This would have enabled us to make a comparison between the philosophical doctrines of Freud and Heidegger in order to determine their subsequent modifications within the framework of "existential psychoanalysis."

This consideration should not be taken as a reproach. This is rather a statement of the fact that in Soviet publications the question of the status of psychoanalytical philosophy has not been raised as yet. However, since in contemporary Western philosophy and sociology trends have developed which encompass a variety of philosophical ideas, including psychoanalytical ones, the need has appeared to discuss this problem and to bring to light the nature of psychoanalytical philosophy.

As far as sociological problems are concerned, they could be singled out in the parts where the author discusses existential-psychoanalytical interpretations of relations between the individual and society, the processes of socialization and alienation, sickness and health, and social and individual-personality reasons for the appearance of mental disturbances. Indeed, whatever aspects may be discussed by supporters of "existential psychoanalysis," sociocultural and family factors, differently interpreted, turn out in the center of their attention, predetermining mental diseases and conceptual and methodological concepts in accordance with which problems related to medical sociology are solved.

For example, how is the question of sickness and health considered within "existential psychoanalysis?" According to Freudian classical psychoanalysis, mental disturbances are correlated with insurmountable subconscious attractions of an infantile nature, suppressed because of their incompatibility with socially prevailing standards and values. Therefore, in order to heal the patient through psychoanalysis, the individual must adapt himself to society. It is true that this trend was not as clear in Freud himself, who considered psychoanalysis a kind of upbringing in the sense of "eliminating vestiges of childhood" (3, p 179). His followers have turned psychoanalysis into a means for the adaptation of the people to a social environment.

The book under review pays significant attention to the existential-psychoanalytical interpretation of sickness and disease and subjects to argued criticism and principle-minded Marxist evaluation the theories of R. Lange and D. Cooper. However, their works actually deal with the sociological problems of psychiatry. It is a question of reviewing the criteria of mental illness, when research concentrates on social factors. The real processes are established, related to the fact that clinical practices in the capitalist world frequently turn from means of treatment into a social

instrument of political pressure on the individual. The fact that sociological problems of psychiatry are solved by supporters of "existential psychoanalysis" on the basis of anti-Marxist positions is a different matter; as a result, the "revolution of madness" (D. Cooper) which is achieved with the help of hallucinogenics and psychedelic means, becomes a necessary prerequisite for social revolution while the mass unemployment in the capitalist countries is a result of the "neurosis of unemployment" (W. Frankel), rather than the reason for the increased number of neuroses, and relief from mental disturbances becomes a "mystical illumination" (R. Lange).

The critical study of the ideological positions held by the supporters of "anti-psychiatry," made by A.M. Rutkevich, is worthy of attention and approval. "Knowledge of the social reasons for mental disturbances," the author justifiably concludes, "is a major prerequisite in psychiatric practices; however, the use of political rhetoric rather than therapy is as much out of place as praising the condition of the psychotic who, allegedly, surmounts a repressive civilization through mystical experience" (p 144).

In assessing the monograph as a whole, let us emphasize the relevance of studies critically analyzing the latest trends which have appeared in contemporary bourgeois philosophy, sociology and psychology. This book, which was published by Politizdat, under the rubric "Social Progress and Bourgeois Philosophy," is a substantial contribution to the uninterrupted struggle of ideas.

Let us note that Marxist works criticizing the philosophical and sociological concepts of Freudianism are still few and that the initiative of Politizdat, is quite timely.

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SOCIOLOGIST'S BOOKSHELF

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